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¶ JOSEPH W. BISHOP JR., a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Harvard Law School, served in the Army in all ranks from private to major between February, 1943, and July, 1946. At present he is engaged in the practice of law in Washington, D.C. ¶ J. H. NEUMANN, of the Department of English of Brooklyn College, is already known to our readers. His article, 'American Newspaper Interest in English Language Problems,' appeared in *American Speech* for April, 1945. ¶ In this issue KEMP MALONE writes on the prevalent confusion in the naming of college terms (or sessions, as we like to call them here at Columbia). We heartily recommend his article, not only to connoisseurs of American English, but also to any college administrator who may wish to consult his etymological conscience. ¶ FRED A. DUDLEY is Associate Professor of English at the State College of Washington. The Kentucky words which he presents in his article were collected during the period from 1941 to 1946, when he was head of the English department at Morehead State Teachers College. ¶ We present in this issue another installment of 'Notes on DAE' by SIR ST. VINCENT TROUBRIDGE. The first of his articles on the DAE appeared in our issue of December, 1945.

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AMERICAN SPEECH

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AMERICAN ARMY SPEECH IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER

JOSEPH W. BISHOP, JR.

Washington, D.C.

THE AUTHOR of this article concedes in advance his lack of scholarly qualifications. This is his first venture in philology, if you can call it that. But it seems desirable that someone, interested rather in what was actually said than the publicization of his own pet witticisms, set down his impressions while they are still fresh in memory. They may at least be useful as checks on the findings of more learned writers, or as source material.

Most of the things which I have so far seen printed on the subject have been ephemeral collections of vaudevillesque patter, some of it fairly clever, but little of it bearing much relation to the ordinary language of the troops. My own observations are limited to what I have actually heard in fairly common use—*i.e.*, in use not only by the gifted individuals who invent neologisms, but also by the rest of us who adopt them, if they are good enough.

Undoubtedly, many usages exist which are not familiar to me, and some of them may be widespread. Most of my service overseas (commencing in April, 1944, and continuing until early in 1946) was in rear echelons, and my occasional tours of duty in combat areas were not extended enough to permit me really to familiarize myself with the prevailing dialect up there. Similarly, my acquaintance with the Air Force and the Navy was limited. But so far as my observation goes, the speech of infantrymen, airmen and sailors does not differ radically from the norm, except for the ordinary amount of professional jargon.

I have tried to eliminate all locutions which are not peculiar to, or a product of, the Army. In some cases, inevitably, I will have erred and included phrases which, while new to me, are old stuff. Most soldier talk is the same as civilian talk except, perhaps, that certain meritorious localisms have caught on with men from all parts of the country. In fact, my principal emotion when I had completed the search of my own

memory, those of my friends, and such files as were available of *Yank* and the *Stars and Stripes*, was surprise at the smallness of the number of new words and phrases (aside from the technical, never part of the vulgate and not likely long to survive the individual's return to civilian life) the war had introduced. Perhaps it is because very few aspects of this war were conducive to the sort of high spirits and excess energy which produce new language. It is significant that the cartoons of Bill Mauldin, among the most accurate impressions of the war, almost never introduce new words. Mauldin's characters are ungrammatical and they employ slang of the sort which is part of the American language, but they rarely say anything which would not be perfectly intelligible to any normal American. Willie and Joe were usually much too tired to wise-crack. So far as my recollection serves, Mauldin introduced but one new word, *garritrooper* (a portmanteau from *garrison* and *paratrooper*), which he defined in substance as one too far forward to wear a necktie and too far back to be shot at; but this, while received with amusement, never passed into everyday speech. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, for the benefit of future playwrights and novelists, that real soldiers never sound anything like some of the current comic strip and Hollywood syntheses. It may be that some immature individuals do talk in this extraordinary fashion—I have heard none, personally—but, if they do, the odds are that they brought it into the Army with them, from the zoot suit period of civilian life. (As a matter of fact, despite the lapse of time, the speech of Stephen Crane's soldiers is remarkably like that of modern ones.) In any case, I have tried to err on the side of inclusion, excluding words and phrases from the list which follows only if I myself had heard them in civilian speech, before the war.

I. CATCH PHRASES

Only six of these seem to me to be sufficiently longlived and widespread to merit comment. These are:

1. *Oh my aching back* (often contracted to *Oh my back*, or simply *My back*). This is used in a variety of situations; *e.g.*, upon the receipt of bad news, especially if such news entails labor for the speaker; to express general discontent, tempered by resignation; to express sardonic amusement at a gaffe or piece of naïveté (presumably because the aching back—*i.e.*, warweariness—prevents the hearty laughter which would otherwise be called for). It has become a counter phrase, but in the right circumstances it can be pungent. Its genesis, while obscure, is probably connected with the fact that an aching back, which cannot be expected to produce visible symptoms, is the common complaint of soldiers seeking light duty or no duty at all.

2. *Things are rough in the ETO.* This is obvious in origin and meaning, *rough* (or *rugged*) being the adjective of all work for anything dangerous, difficult or unpleasant. It is standard comment in all adverse circumstances and has consequently been worked very hard. It will be noted that although, when actual shooting stopped, the designation of this area was reduced from 'European Theater of Operations' to 'European Theater,' it continued to be the ETO to all soldiers.

3. *Whaddya want—an egg in your beer?* Properly, this is the retort courteous to a gripe, or bitch, which is not fully justified. By loose usage, it has become an answer to any and all complaints. I do not know its etymology, but my assumption has always been that it is based on the fact that fresh eggs and real beer were two of the scarcest desiderata in the ETO, the possession of either one of which ought to have sufficed any man. There is some evidence that it has been prevalent around Brooklyn for years, but, at any rate, it has certainly had wider currency in the Army than ever before and has been more apt.

4. *You've had it.* (Also, of course, *I've had it, he's had it*, etc.) This convenient phrase is an Anglicism. It is used in a great variety of situations, most of them unpleasant, as when one has been swindled or summarily treated; when an effort to obtain some desired thing has failed; when, in general, no hope of improvement exists; or when a leave (for example) which has been disappointing or brief has ended. It connotes finality. It is the standard retort when stocks of some desired article are exhausted. 'Got any Scotch today?' Answer: 'You've had it.'

5. *Blow it out your ass.* This, used in lieu of 'nuts,' etc., or sometimes as an urgent invitation to shut up, is by no means limited to the ETO. It may be old, but the author has never heard it in civilian life, despite a good deal of experience as an ordinary seaman and in other walks of life where no inhibitions stood in the way of its free employment had it been known. In print it is softened to 'Blow it out your footlocker' or 'Blow it out your B-Bag.' (The B-Bag was a canvas barracks bag which, with the A-Bag, contained the government and personal property of the travelling soldier before the handier duffel-bag was introduced.) In fact, the *Stars and Stripes* for some time printed a column of letters from readers (mostly gripes, of course) known as 'The B-Bag.' It used to be subheaded 'Blow it Out Here,' but this vanished from the masthead of the column some time after V-E day—perhaps due to the post-hostilities influx of herds of female civilians.

6. *You never had it so good.* This is a sardonic response to complaints about the Army; it is probably supposed to represent the attitude of a peculiarly offensive type of officer. It was probably true of a substantial

number of recruits in the early days of training, featured by good food and plenty of it, modern barracks, etc., but it became a bitter and popular jest in the foxhole and K-ration areas. In spirit it is closely allied to No. 3, above.

II. ARMS, EQUIPMENT, ETC.

The remarkable thing in this category is the paucity of terms of the soldier's own invention. In general, he is content to accept whatever nomenclature is in official use, although he usually selects the shortest form or himself shortens a longer form. Thus, his rifle is always referred to as an *M-1* or *carbine*, as the case may be, which is perfectly correct; a truck having six wheels, all powered, is a *6 by 6*, which is what Ordnance calls it; even the odious C and K rations are either given their full titles or referred to as *C's* and *K's*. I heard little approximating the *goldfish* and *monkeymeat* of the last war. An exception may be made as to the powdered synthetic lemon juice, alleged to contain vitamin C and very prevalent in K rations, which I have sometimes heard called 'battery acid' and 'bug juice.' Of course, I have heard many derogatory epithets applied to standard items of Army chow (an old word, but current)—as, for instance, the usual designation of scrambled (powdered) eggs on toast—but all of these were familiar to me from my days on shipboard, in college commons, and even in secondary school. Perhaps another exception should be made in favor of *Spam*, as used; it was usually applied to any canned, processed meat, and was almost invariably used as a pejorative. The shoulder patch of the Army Service Forces was sometimes known as a *spam cluster*.

Among Army vehicles, only the Jeep seems to have passed into the language. (Such terms as *Weasel*, *Duck*, *Buffalo*, etc., were official or semi-official designations and can hardly rank as part of the demotic speech. They refer to highly specialized types of vehicle, having no civilian equivalents, and are not likely to be heard after the war.) *Jeep*, which may come to be applied to any small, powerful vehicle, is, of course, the common name of the $\frac{1}{4}$ -ton truck, 4 by 4. I am not sure of its derivation. I have heard that it is based on 'G.P.,' meaning general purpose, but I am doubtful of this, for several reasons. 'G.P.' is not a normal Army abbreviation, so far as I know, and the jeep is, in fact, not a general purpose vehicle—at least in theory. My own opinion is that it comes from a character in the comic strip, 'Popeye,' Eugene the Jeep, a small, fantastic animal possessing practically magical powers. *Jeep* also became an adjective; thus, a small travelling camp show, the entire staff and paraphernalia of which could theoretically be loaded into a jeep, was a 'jeep show.'

and this term was likely to be applied to any not very elaborate enterprise, even though it required a couple of 6 by 6's as transportation. It should be noted that in the Armored Force, for reasons unknown to me, the $\frac{1}{4}$ -ton 4 by 4 is always a *peep*, the term 'jeep' being applied to the command and reconnaissance car—the latter an awkward, high-silhouetted cross between a truck and an old-fashioned touring car. But this usage is peculiar to the tankers, clung to as a matter of esprit de corps, and is not likely to make progress or even to survive.

Although perhaps not strictly relevant, it is noteworthy that a riotous fancy was displayed in the individual christening of vehicles, guns, tanks, aircraft and any other piece of equipment having some individuality. Especially was this true of jeeps. I saw, for example, such typical specimens as 'Displaced Person,' 'Toujours l'Amour,' 'She's Old But She Can Still Get Hot,' 'Our Lady of Victory' (driven by a Catholic chaplain), 'Gwendolyn Feinschreiber' (driven by an admirer either of Miss Feinschreiber or of the S. J. Perelman school of humor) and even the ineffable 'Wacky Wabbit' (driven, inevitably, by a WAC). Jeeps, perhaps because of their prominence in the public and official eye, have rarely been given improper or risqué names, but aircraft often were. In particular, I remember noticing in a Munich illustrated paper published in October, 1943, a photograph (in violation of the rather explicit provision of the Geneva Convention) of a captured U.S. airman whose flight jacket bore the device of his aircraft—a nude holding a bomb, and the words 'Piccadilly Commando.' This combination of naked *mädel* and bomb was seized upon by the editorialist as an outstanding example of the New York and Hollywood Jewish (the German word was, I think, *verjudeten*) cynicism of these murderers of German children. Unfortunately, the propagandist apparently did not know that a 'Piccadilly Commando' is a London prostitute and so missed an excellent opportunity for further homiletics in his peculiar vein.

Nor have new weapons produced as much new popular nomenclature as might have been expected. The *bazooka* (the correct name of which is 'rocket-launcher') derives its name from its obvious resemblance to Bob Burns' musical instrument; but I am not sure that the War Department did not invent and popularize the term as a sort of code word, just as the British originally used *tank*, for the weapon was very secret in its early days. The Germans, with characteristic Nazi grandiosity, labelled a similar weapon *panzerfaust*, and this term was known to most G.I.'s. Aircraft were always known by their official names or, interchangeably, their official numbers—e.g., B-17 or Flying Fortress, B-24 or Liberator, P-47 or Thunderbolt, etc. Often, of course, these were contracted to

'Lib,' 'Fort,' and so forth. Almost any type of portable automatic weapon, including the Thompson submachine gun, was likely to be called a *Tommy gun*, except the Browning Automatic Rifle, which was always a *BAR*. The standard hand grenade seems rarely to have been called a 'pineapple,' despite the Chicago use of that term. None of these words, of course, is novel.

Not much more inventiveness was displayed with respect to enemy weapons. The V-1 was in the U.S. and British official parlance a *flying bomb*, after an original sporadic use of 'pilotless aircraft,' and the former name remained in fairly common use. The troops, however, generally called it a *buzzbomb*, probably because it normally came in at rather low altitude, reminiscent of an airplane 'buzzing' the ground. The name may, however, refer to the sound of the V-1's jet engine—a resonant buzzing, rising to a shattering roar. I have never heard a soldier call one a *robomb*; *robot* (pronounced 'rowboat') and *robot bomb* I have heard but rarely. So far as I know, the V-2 was always referred to as a V-2; it was employed principally against civilians and did not become familiar to most troops. A type of multiple rocket projector, called *nebelwerfer* by the Germans themselves, was sometimes called *screaming meemie* by American troops, from the noise it made—or rather, its projectiles were so called. Practically any type of German automatic or semi-automatic small arm was apt to be described as a *burp gun*, presumably from the resemblance of shots or short bursts of fire to hiccoughs; but I have been told by a combat infantryman that the name is properly applicable only to the Schmeisser machine pistol. (Similarly, any German pistol was likely to be called either a *Luger* or a *P-38*, no matter what model it was, or who had manufactured it.) German aircraft were generally so rare, at least in so far as the average U.S. soldier in France or Germany was concerned, that I don't believe any of them ever acquired nicknames, although the Germans seem to have had a number of slang terms for our aircraft. German soldiers themselves were, as in the last war, usually known as *Jerries* or the *Krauts*; when in particular disfavor they might be referred to as *Nazis*, or *supermen*. 'Heinie,' 'Fritz,' and 'squarehead' were relatively rare and 'Dutchman' almost unknown, perhaps because real Dutchmen were respected allies.

Ribbons representing decorations and campaign medals were sometimes called *fruit salad*, but I have never known them to be called *brag rags* except in the funny papers. The Good Conduct Medal, awarded to enlisted men for twelve months of exemplary behavior, was frequently called the *no-clap medal*, in allusion to a principal prerequisite to its award. The Bronze Star Medal, supposedly in recognition of heroic or

meritorious achievement, which blossomed profusely on the chests of staff officers not having sufficient rank to receive the Legion of Merit, was often known as the *Officers' Good Conduct Medal*, sometimes, more bitterly, as the *Brown Nose Medal* or *Brown Star*. The Air Medal, the award of which to combat fliers was more or less routine, was often referred to (both by themselves and by ground troops) as the *Junior Birdman Badge*. Other decorations, more respected, had no derisive appellations that I know of. The gold bars, worn on the sleeve at the rate of one for each six months of service overseas, were frequently spoken of as *Hershey bars*, for obvious reasons.

The war of course introduced a great many new technical terms, in connection with radar, aviation and the like. Most of these were current only with the very limited groups who engaged in these highly technical pursuits and cannot in any case be regarded as peculiar to the Army. Practically every specialized activity had its own jargon. The author, for example, spent the latter part of the war as a Judge Advocate. Terms peculiar to military justice include such specimens as *bust* (court-martial conviction disapproved by higher authority), *DD*, *TF* and *CHL* ('dishonorable discharge, total forfeitures and confinement at hard labor') and the like.

III. G.I.

These letters were undoubtedly the major addition to the vulgate of the World War II Army. They represent, of course, an abbreviation of 'Government Issue,' but this may not be their only meaning, or even the original one. I have been told by a regular army sergeant of many years' service that many years before the war the large ash-, garbage-, etc., can used by the Army was known as a *G.I. can* (as it still is) not because it was Government Issue, but because it was galvanized iron. According to this source, a man who was G.I. was crude or uncouth, and the term was considered insulting.

At any rate, the adjective *G.I.* is now applied to all items of army equipment, generally to distinguish them from civilian analogues; e.g., *G.I. truck*, *G.I. shoes*, *G.I. soap*, *G.I. glasses*, *G.I. cognac* (purchased through official sources and hence probably potable), *G.I. insurance*—the list is very long. So pervasive an adjective was bound to become a substantive; thus, in the proper context, 'my G.I.'s' may mean the wearer's shoes or woolen underwear. (*The G.I.'s* is—or are—diarrhea; the phrase is a contraction, probably, of 'the G.I. trots.' The malady is cured or aggravated by a *G.I. pill*.) It would have been tautologous to refer to a *G.I. soldier*, but he could be called simply a *G.I.*, and the name.

although originally more popular with civilians than soldiers, has stuck. There are a few others; infantrymen and, by extension, more or less all front line soldiers, are sometimes called *doughs* or *dogfaces*, although both of these are commoner in the newspapers than in the mouths of the troops themselves; airforce flying personnel are sometimes labelled *bird-men* or *flyboys*; but by and large a U.S. soldier is a G.I. *G.I. Joe* is frowned upon (although a soldier unknown to the speaker may be, as in civilian life, referred to as 'a Joe' or 'some Joe') and is found only in advertising copy, the stories of the sloppier sort of correspondent and the orations of Clare Boothe Luce. It should finally be noted that *G.I.* almost invariably denotes an enlisted man, as distinguished from an officer—the latter are usually *the brass* or, if of high rank (very senior, in official jargon), *the big brass*. This may be a contraction of *brass hat*, but I rather think it refers solely to the heavier load of insignia sported by officers.

As an adjective, *G.I.* also means strict, addicted to the enforcement of (or personal compliance with) regulations. Thus, the statement that an officer is *G.I.* means that he enforces regulations to the letter, insists upon a snappy appearance and observance of the canons of military courtesy, and generally tolerates no laxity. The adjective is used similarly in reference to an entire command; the Third Army, under General Patton, had the reputation of being extremely *G.I.* A less courteous word for this sort of thing is discussed below.

To my knowledge, *G.I.* has but one meaning as a verb—to clean, polish, scour with *G.I.* brush and *G.I.* soap. (A *G.I. party* is an organized attack upon dirt, usually staged on the Friday night before a Saturday morning inspection.)

IV. FORBIDDEN PHRASES

While all the ordinary forbidden words are employed in the Army and, indeed, badly overworked, I can think offhand of only three which I believe to be peculiar to the Army. These are:

1. *Chickenshit*. This graphic description, used both as noun and adjective, signifies what is mean, petty and annoying, especially as applied to regulations. Thus, when an infantryman in a rest area finds himself restricted because his dogtags are not worn around his neck, or his shoes are unshined, or he has been detected in the act of robbing the village bank, he complains that there is too damned much chickenshit around. If he puts the gripe in a letter to the B-Bag, or otherwise feels it advisable to watch his language, the word is contracted to *chicken*. As an adjective it sometimes connotes cowardice, perhaps by confusion with

chicken-livered or chicken-hearted. I have recently seen a quotation from a soldier newspaper published in 1919 by the then Army of Occupation which employed the word in its modern sense, but this seems to have been exceptional.

2. *Pissed-off* (or *P'd off*). This means, roughly, fed-up, irritated, depressed. I have no idea of its history. The British say *browned off*, and it may be that the Americans who borrowed the phrase simply felt that 'browned' was not strong enough. The superlative is, for some reason, *highly pissed off*, which may also be a Britishism.

3. *Tough shit*. Something which is unfortunate, but about which nothing can be done. The phrase has been dephlogisticated to *T.S.*, and in this form is extraordinarily widespread, having many variations. A *T.S. ticket* is an imaginary form entitling the bearer to sympathy and nothing else. 'All I can do is punch ya T.S. ticket (or slip) for ya.' Some humorists, including Chaplains, went so far as to print and distribute T.S. tickets with appropriate blanks to be punched.

V. BORROWINGS

This Army has had uncommon opportunities to add foreign words and phrases to its vocabulary, but (perhaps as a part of the normal disinterest of the American soldier in anything in any way different from himself and his background) there have been remarkably few such accretions. Most of the traffic has been the other way, at least in the areas of which I have had experience—the United Kingdom, France, and Germany.

The presence of more than two million Americans in the U.K. undoubtedly hastened the Americanization of the British vulgate. Certainly any ordinary Englishman is now familiar with (although he probably does not use) *elevator*, *gas*, *radiator* (of an automobile), *gum* (chewing) and a variety of acronyms for 'Negro,' to select a few random examples. Possibly owing to the educational efforts of both the U. S. Army and the British Government, cases in which serious misunderstandings of each others' languages arose were very rare. (SHAEF, an organization in which U.S. and British personnel were carefully commingled, used sometimes to print its directives in both British and American, where the difference between the two was great—thus, such forms as 'stores/supplies' and 'other ranks/enlisted men' were common.) The use of a few Britishisms became common among Americans, partially displacing, even in speech among themselves, American analogues. Thus, *pub* and *fish and chips* became standard, perhaps because there were no exact American equivalents, and *flat* and *lift*—which can be upheld as better words than *apartment* and *elevator*—came into fairly common

use, as did *queue* for line, although most of the boys would probably have spelled it 'cue' and did so spell it in the instances in which I ran across it while censoring mail. The entire subject is, of course, too vast and complex to be discussed in this brief article and will probably furnish occupation to numbers of trained philologists for years after the war. My own opinion is that the war did a good deal to check the drift apart of the two languages.

As for the continent, it is now safe to say that no Frenchman, Belgian, Dutchman, Luxemburger, Dane, Norwegian or German, and very few Poles or Russians, is ignorant of *O.K.*, *G.I.*, and *jeep*. So far as I know, practically no French locutions passed into the language of the troops, other than such old familiars as *bowkoo*, *parleyvoo*, *vooleyvoo* *coushay*, and others which also served honorably in the last war. An exception might be made in favor of *zig-zig*, used either as noun or verb, and implying sexual intercourse. (French friends, however, inform me that *zig-zig* was imported into France from North Africa, the source of a good deal of low French argot.) The following is taken verbatim from a record of trial by court-martial, which I myself have examined, in which the ability of the accused to speak French was relevant. A military policeman is on the stand.

Question: Did you actually hear the accused talking French to this girl?

Answer: Yes, sir.

Q: Well, what did he say, if you know?

A: He said, 'No zig-zig ce soir, sweetheart.'

German has contributed *kaput*, meaning variously broken, dead, all up, etc.; *verboten*, and *schnapps*, meaning practically any type of strong liquor (including, for example, the liquid fuel used to propel V-2's) other than gin and whiskey. (Schnapps has a rival as a generic term in *calvados*; this beverage, of very high voltage, made a profound and possibly lasting impression on the troops in Normandy.) Whether any Russian has seeped into the G.I. vocabulary is unknown to me; Berlin and Vienna are practically the only places where American and Russian troops in any numbers have been in prolonged contact, and I have been to neither.

VI. OFFICIAL JARGON

A number of words and phrases, coined by or popular among administrative officers, have been adopted by the troops, sometimes with substantial changes in meaning. Among the most commonly employed are:

S.O.P. This contraction of 'Standard Operating Procedure' denotes any prescribed, preferable or habitual method of doing a thing.

Z.I. Home is called the 'Z.I.' (Zone of the Interior) nearly as often as it is called the States, or Stateside.

Redeploy. To go home. Note that the verb, although transitive (*i.e.*, 'the soldier is redeployed') is used as an intransitive (*e.g.*, 'I'm gonna redeploy next month').

Fraternize. To have close relations, usually sexual, with a female enemy national. By extension it is used also with respect to the female population of allied countries and even American girls. On the other hand, I once saw a soldier who had philanthropically sold a prisoner of war a pack of cigarettes for \$12 charged with 'fraternization.'

By the Numbers. In training certain fundamental operations, such as putting on a gasmask, are taught by the numbers—at the count of one, the carrier is unfastened, at the count of two the mask is removed, and so forth. To do anything 'by the numbers' is to do it in a practiced, routine, semi-automatic manner.

G-2. Used as a verb, this is roughly the equivalent of 'to case'—*i.e.*, to size up a situation before deciding on a course of action. G-2 is, of course, the staff division responsible for intelligence.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

Beat up. An adjectival phrase of all work meaning damaged, worn-out or of unimpressive appearance.

ETO-happy. Describes one who has been in the ETO too long, talks to himself, or even appears to like it. It is probably related to 'stir-dippy.'

Liberate. To scrounge, or steal; to loot. (The French, with rather more justice and less cynicism, use *récupérer*.) 'I liberated a swell gold watch in Mannheim.'

Poop. Directives, staff studies, standard operating procedures, technical manuals, general orders, circulars, command letters, etc., etc., etc.

Repple Depple. Replacement Depot, a purgatory-like place where soldiers sweat out (*q.v.*) assignment to an organization. Early in the winter of 1944-1945, the Army became alarmed by the gloomy connotations of 'replacement' and officially substituted 'reinforcement,' but the new word never got farther than strictly official usage.

Sad sack. (A polite contraction of 'sad sack of shit,' sometimes contracted still further to 'sack.') An inept, luckless or stupid person. (Sgt. George Baker did not invent the term—he simply appropriated an established piece of slang as a name for his forlorn little private.)

Sack. Bed. To sack up or hit the sack is to go to bed. Sack time is sleep. May originally have referred to a sleeping bag or bedding roll, but now means any bed or substitute therefor.

Sweat out. To wait for or endure, usually under nerveracking or monotonous conditions. Thus, one sweats out a promotion, a bombing, a chowline or redeployment. This phrase occurs in *Tom Sawyer*, but its rise to prominence certainly dates from the war.

Shack up (with). To cohabit. Also used in the passive. 'I'm shacked up around here' means that the speaker has found a friendly *fräulein* who in substance maintains a home for him. The *fräulein* herself is a 'shack job.'

See the Chaplain. To resign oneself to the continuance of an unpleasant situation; to accept ill fortune without seeking to alleviate it. 'See the Chaplain' was the standard advice to one with a grievance about which nothing could be done—presumably because it was the mission of the Chaplain, often a long-suffering man, to listen to the multitudinous complaints of soldiers who felt themselves misunderstood by the Army. Of course, in the vast majority of such cases, the Chaplain could do nothing except listen with more or less sympathy. The phrase was often expanded to 'See the Chaplain and have him punch ya T.S. slip.' As a counter phrase, this was used in much the same spirit as 'You've had it.'

As I have indicated at the beginning of this article, it is possible that many terms have been overlooked in the foregoing discussion. But I believe that the preceding paragraphs represent a large majority of the new words and phrases added to the vocabulary of the average American soldier in Europe which have any chance of survival. According to a story printed in the *Stars and Stripes* (Germany edition) of 24 January, 1946, Dr. David W. Maurer, associate professor of English at the University of Louisville, believes that military slang may add a possible 100,000 new words to the American language. I think somebody has been kidding the professor; 100 words would be closer to it. (I leave out of account, as forming no part of the lexicon of the average G.I., the new technical words—but of these there can hardly be more than a few thousand, if that, and in any case they are not slang.) Nor has the American soldier 'plundered almost every language on the face of the globe.' The American soldier is probably less interested in other peoples' languages and customs than the soldiers of any other country, and he has done a remarkably poor job of picking up the language in the countries he has visited; he has preferred the easier course of letting the limeys or frogs or krauts or gu-gus, or whatever he calls the natives, learn American. I think it fair to say that in no respect has American provincialism been more clearly manifested than in that of language.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LINGUISTIC TASTES AS EXHIBITED IN SHERIDAN'S EDITION OF SWIFT

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IN 1784 Thomas Sheridan, lexicographer, orthoepist, and teacher of oratory, brought out a 'revised and corrected' edition of the works of Jonathan Swift, in seventeen volumes quarto.¹ This edition purported to be authoritative and all-inclusive, and served as the basis of a later revision by John Nichols (1801). What makes it of particular interest to students of the English language is the wealth of comment it contains on Swift's linguistic usages, and the light it consequently throws on the progress of linguistic change since the beginning of the century.

This interest in Swift's language is not new in the literature of the period. A critical examination of the language peculiarities of the writers of the Augustan age was one aspect of the general movement for regularity and standardization which characterized the last half of the century and which ultimately led to the adoption of rules of usage in vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling, and syntax. Of all the great figures of the period, however, whose peculiarities of style attracted the attention of writers on language, Addison, Pope, and Swift—particularly the last-named—were the most important. Their works were subjected to the closest scrutiny and regarded as almost inexhaustible mines of information on points of grammar and style.² The criticism to which they were exposed was not always or entirely friendly. Bishop Lowth in his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) devotes several pages of notes in fine print to an examination of Swift's 'errors' in matters of language, concentrating especially on Swift's misuse of certain prepositions. Hugh Blair, in his very popular *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), dwells at length upon the 'solecisms' of Swift's style, using as his text—with a peculiar sense of appropriateness—Swift's essay on the necessity for correcting and improving the English language. Later grammarians and

1. *The Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Paul's, Dublin. Arranged, Revised, and Corrected, with Notes, by Thomas Sheridan, A. M. A New Edition, in Seventeen Volumes, London, 1784.* Unless the contrary is indicated, all references to Swift's works in the notes are to this edition.

2. Even Priestly, who avers in his *English Grammar* (1761-62) that the illustrations he uses were accumulated in the course of his ordinary reading—'I read nothing with an immediate view to them,' he says—makes an exception in the case of 'a very few pages in Swift' (ed. London, 1833, p. 7).

critics either repeat these criticisms or discover additional grounds for comment. This preoccupation with the incorrectness of Swift's English lasted well into the nineteenth century. A writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* as late as 1840 revives the old complaint about Swift's 'slovenly' style, charging him, among other faults, with numerous 'syntactical blunders' and 'painful inaccuracies' of diction.³ The strange thing, however, about a great deal of this criticism is the fact that despite their sensitiveness to Swift's 'errors,' the critics generally agree in commending his style for the positive qualities it possessed—for its vigor, its appropriateness, and above all, its 'purity.'⁴

Sheridan's comment on Swift's language appears in a long introduction, which serves as the preface to Volume II—Volume I being taken up entirely with an account of Swift's life—and in the many notes scattered through the various volumes. The introduction acknowledges, as usual, the 'purity' of Swift's style—his is 'the most correct English of any of our authors'—and then proceeds to point out, as a matter of 'public benefit,' certain irregularities of his diction. Chief among these are the following: (1) the use of the 'hissing sound' -s in *downwards*, *forwards*, *towards* instead of *downward*, *forward*, *toward*, and of the 'uncouth sound' -st in words like *whilst*, *amidst*, *amongst*; (2) the use of *like* for *likely*, of *no ways* for *nowise*, and of similar constructions; (3) the redundancy involved in *from whence*; (4) the use of *an* instead of *a* before words beginning with an *h*; (5) the confusion in regard to *besides*—*beside*,⁵ and *further*—*farther*; (6) the use of the obsolete ending -(e)th instead of -(e)s for the third person singular present of verbs; and finally (7) the use of certain idiomatic expressions which Sheridan regards as ungrammatical, like *I had rather* for *I would rather*, and *never so (angry)* for *ever so (angry)*.⁶ A possible extenuating circumstance for the existence of these faults in Swift is implied in the statement that the same or similar errors are to be found in 'all other English writers,' and that they stand as the result of

3. Donald M. Berwick, *The Reputation of Jonathan Swift (1781-1882)*, Philadelphia, 1941, p. 83. See also *Dublin University Magazine*, 15: 658 (June, 1840).

4. The term purity, as used by these critics, generally meant the absence of foreign elements. 'It is remarkable how few Latinized words Dean Swift employs. No writer in our language is so purely English as he is, or borrows so little from words of foreign derivation.' Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. Philadelphia, 1833, p. 253. Cf. Johnson's pronouncement: 'He [Swift] studied purity.'

5. Leonard is in error when he says that 'the currently taught distinction between *beside* and *besides* does not seem to have been remarked in the period here considered [i.e. the eighteenth century].' Sterling Andrus Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800*, Madison, 1929, p. 112.

6. In his note on Swift's *Letter concerning the Sacramental Test*, IV, 460, Sheridan calls the expression *had better* a 'bad, ungrammatical phrase, lately crept into writing from vulgar speech.' On divided usage in this connection see Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

long-established custom. Moreover, Sheridan specifically exempts Swift from blame or censure for the linguistic improprieties occurring in his familiar letters, where a certain freedom is permissible, and in *Gulliver's Travels*, where the use of ungrammatical words and expressions is more or less in keeping with the character of the narrator, a seafaring man.

More important, however, than these introductory strictures on Swift's style are the comments on specific questions of English usage, which appear in the form of footnotes in nine of the seventeen volumes. Altogether there are 197 such notes, and they cover a wide range of language matters: diction, syntax, and idiom. They represent the rage for correction and emendation, which, as Johnson testifies, overtook even the best editors of the eighteenth century, and which produced the well-known 'improved' versions of Shakespeare, Milton, and other earlier writers. The general tendency of these comments is in the direction of a strict, if somewhat stilted, formalism.

By far the largest category of items consists of comments which indicate a desire for precision or logical correctness in word and phrase, and an avoidance of colloquialisms and foreign expressions. Sheridan objects, for example, to the phrase 'a genius *less unlimited* than yours.' What is boundless, he says, 'admits of no degrees.'⁷ The sentence '[it was a style] which ended by degrees in many *barbarities*' is corrected to *barbarisms*. *Barbarities* conveys the idea of cruelty, *barbarisms* refers to 'faults of style.'⁸ In the clause 'which no law can *disannul*,' the prefix of the last word is 'superfluous and improper' because it gives the word the opposite meaning.⁹ The obsolescent expression 'the one or *t'other*' is labelled ungrammatical and vulgar,¹⁰ as is also the older usage of the word *whether* meaning 'which of the two' in the phrase '*whether* is the nobler being of the two.'¹¹ Other eighteenth-century colloquialisms censured as 'bad English' are 'which *had like* to have ensued,' corrected by Sheridan to *were likely*,¹² and the expression 'the losses they *received*,' corrected to *sustained*.¹³ The phrase *do the grace* in the sentence 'he would *do me the grace* to take me with him' is pointed out as an affected gallicism—'to favour the idea of the whole being a translation [from the French].'¹⁴

7. II, 10.

8. V, 78.

9. III, 175. So also, 'by taking the *disposition* of employments into her own hands,' changed to 'by taking the *disposal* . . .' IV, 297.

10. V, 116. Pegge, however, writing a quarter of a century later, says that the word is 'allowable.' The expression '*the t'other*,' on the other hand, is called vulgar. Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language*, 2nd ed., London, 1804.

11. II, 295.

12. III, 281.

13. Gulliver (Nichols' ed. of Swift's *Works*, London, 1801), VII, 174.

14. V, 438.

The word *choqued* in the sentence 'I confess I was *choqued* . . . in reading the paragraph,' is described as an 'expressive' French word, but as one that has not as yet been admitted into the best dictionaries.¹⁵

Sometimes the 'improvement' is achieved through a needless elaboration of a simple, easily understood construction, or through a circumlocution. The sentence 'this is what he has done in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse' makes 'neither grammar nor sense,' according to Sheridan. It should be 'in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse *contains*.'¹⁶ 'The inoffensive manner I handled it' is changed to 'the inoffensive manner *in which* I handled it.'¹⁷ A preference for an elaborate formalism is indicated also by the changing of simple infinitives into clauses. 'I confess *to have* . . . borne a part in this general error' is changed into '*that I have* . . . borne a part.'¹⁸ 'By whom they apprehended *to be called* to account' is rewritten 'by whom they apprehended *that they should be called* to account.'¹⁹ The objection Sheridan gives to the original wording of these or similar sentences is that they are 'not reconcileable to grammar,' the difficulty of parsing the infinitive apparently proving insurmountable.²⁰ The omission or suppression of parts of the verb *to be* is frequently noted and the ellipsis is restored wherever it occurs. 'Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved,' is revised to read 'as he well deserved *to be*.'²¹ 'It is an unanswerable argument of *a very refined age*' is elaborated into 'it is an unanswerable argument of *the age's being very refined*.'²² Corrections of this kind account for almost one-third of the items noted.

The use of the flat adverb for the form ending in *-ly* is criticized about a score of times. The clause 'which are *easy* to be remembered' is changed to 'which are *easily* to be remembered.'²³ Sheridan frequently comments on what he calls this 'absurdity' of Swift's in using the adjective for the adverb, and passages like 'the perfection of writing *correct*,' '*extreme* wilful and positive,' '*easier* conceived than described,' are all rewritten in the notes so as to show the adverbial ending.²⁴ Nowhere does Sheridan

15. V, 473.

16. III, 21.

17. III, 179.

18. II, 66.

19. III, 190.

20. II, 282.

21. IV, 355.

22. II, 143.

23. V, 590.

24. II, 68; II, 88; IV, 313, etc. This seems to have been Swift's normal practice, especially in his informal correspondence. Cf. for example, the following illustrations from the *Journal to Stella*: 'tis terrible rainy weather,' 'I have been horrible busy,' 'What signified your writing angry to Filby.' The eighteenth-century grammarians generally attacked the construction as offensive to the 'genius' of the English language. Cf. George H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making*, New York, 1930, p. 387.

seem to realize that Swift was using a mode of expression in good standing in the earlier part of the century.

The position of adverbial *only* forms the subject of four or five notes. Sheridan criticizes the sentence 'time and mortality can *only* remedy these inconveniences' as ambiguous. He lays down the rule that when *only* refers to things enumerated before, 'exclusively. of all others,' it must always precede the verb.²⁵ The idiomatic use of *no* as an adverb, as in the sentence 'I began to doubt whether I was injured or *no*,' is deplored as an ungrammatical expression which 'has become almost universal.' The objection to it is based on analogy: if the ellipsis were removed, the expression would, of course, have to be 'or *not* injured.'²⁶ The confusion in regard to *hither-here*, *thither-there*, due to hypercorrect standards, is brought out in Sheridan's changing of 'his soul transmigrates *thither*' to 'transmigrates *there*,' and 'upon my arrival *hither*,' which is changed to *here*.²⁷ The original expressions are simply labelled 'not English.'

A frequent subject of comment on the part of Sheridan is Swift's use of prepositions in various phrasal constructions. Sheridan corrects 'the best expedient I could think *on*' to 'think *of*.' Apparently unaware of the earlier prevalence of the idiom, he declares that Swift is 'singular' in using the wrong preposition.²⁸ Elsewhere he changes '*consisting in* soups and olives' to *consisting of*; '*in compliance to* the general wishes' to *in compliance with*; '*agreeable with* so mild a government' to *agreeable to*.²⁹ He corrects the sentence 'and pay *between* [the three of] them' to *among*, on the ground that *between* can never be used with propriety when referring to three parties.³⁰ Occasionally he criticizes the omission of a preposition, three or four times being instances where the inclusion of the preposition would be entirely optional. Thus, 'which every year brought *them* such accessions' is changed to read 'brought *to them*.'³¹ 'Nor can the contrary opinion be defended by *arguing the prodigious disaffection* at present,' is revised in the notes to read 'by *arguing from the prodigious disaffection*.'³² In this and other cases of the same kind the ellipsis is apparently felt to suggest an informality of style which Sheridan was unwilling to countenance.

25. III, 78.

26. Gulliver (Nichols' ed., 1801), VII, 140. The idiom is very common in the eighteenth century. Thackeray is fond of using it in *Henry Esmond*, when he reproduces the language of the eighteenth century.

27. II, 286; V, 326. The use of *here*, *there*, and *where* with verbs of motion became very common in the eighteenth century, according to the *New English Dictionary*.

28. Gulliver (Nichols' ed., 1801), VII, 32.

29. II, 109; III, 317; II, 430.

30. III, 398. This is in accord with the prescription of the eighteenth-century grammarians, although Johnson says that the distinction is 'not always preserved.'

31. III, 428.

32. IV, 369.

Sheridan objects also to the ending of sentences with prepositions. This great superstition of the eighteenth century—as Fowler calls it—is commented upon a dozen times in the various volumes. Expressions like ‘whose character the reader cannot be wholly stranger *to*,’ ‘a war in which the victorious as well as the conquered were heartily weary *of*,’ ‘he goes out of the world a beggar as his father came *in*,’ are condemned as ‘bald’ and ‘poorly arranged,’ and are rewritten so as to avoid the prepositional ending. In one or two notes Sheridan complains of the ubiquity of this kind of error.³³ It is to be found, he says, ‘in almost all our writings,’ and it is always ‘offensive to the cultivated ear.’³⁴ Nevertheless, in revising at least one sentence of Swift’s in which another kind of impropriety occurs, Sheridan falls into the very error he condemns. He changes the sentence, ‘I dread the effects, which are too visible to doubt,’ into ‘too visible to be doubted *of*.’³⁵ The objection to the prepositional ending on the part of some eighteenth-century grammarians was based on the feeling that it lacked dignity or polish. Possibly also the fact that no suitable analogy for the construction could be found in Latin had something to do with its proscription. ‘We use them [i.e. prepositions at the end of sentences],’ Pope is reported to have said, according to Spence, ‘in common conversation; and that use will authorize one . . . for doing the same in slighter pieces, but not in formal ones.’³⁶

Common early eighteenth-century forms like *had arose*, *had wrote*, *had underwent* are described as ‘improper,’ and the words are frequently revised in the notes, although several instances in the text are left un-commented upon. Related to these are the corrections involved in changing ‘they hitherto *have showed*’ to *have shown*, ‘when I *awaked*’ to *awoke*, ‘the answers I have . . . *wringed* and extorted from you’ to *wrung*.³⁷ The past participle *adapt*, without the *-ed* ending, used as an adjective in the sentence, ‘he had never known two cases so parallel and *adapt* to each other,’ is described as ‘not English.’³⁸ The word itself seems to be a creation of Swift’s, possibly on the analogy of the adjective *apt* and of participial adjectives like *erect*, *content*, *distract*.³⁹

33. II, 145; III, 96; V, 137.

34. III, 49.

35. XI, 238.

36. Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. by Samuel Weller Singer, London, 1820, p. 213.

37. X, 289; Gulliver (Nichols’ ed., 1801), VII, 119, 175. For additional eighteenth-century illustrations consult Johan Storm, *Englische Philologie*, Leipzig, 1896, I, 690. Lowth calls attention to the prevalence of these forms among ‘the best writers,’ regretting at the same time the fact that custom seems to have established them ‘beyond recovery.’ Robert Lowth, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, London, 1762, p. 62.

38. II, 296.

39. Cf. *New English Dictionary*, s.v. *adapt*.

The use of the active form of the infinitive instead of the passive is corrected in about a dozen cases, as in the following: 'many other instances of monstrous barbarity too foul *to relate*,' changed to *to be related*.⁴⁰ So also, 'too obvious *to conceive*' for *to be conceived*, 'reasons not hard *to guess*' for *to be guessed*, 'too dangerous *to try*' for *to be tried*.⁴¹

Some confusion in regard to mood is indicated by the revisions Sheridan makes in several sentences. 'I was terribly shaken . . . in this journey though it *were* but half an hour,' is changed in the notes to make the verb read *was*.⁴² So also in the sentence 'that plea did not avail though the lease *were* notoriously unstable,' the verb *were* is changed to *was*.⁴³ In the note to the former illustration Sheridan observes that the subjunctive was improperly used for the indicative, thus naming the mood, the very existence of which was the subject of controversy before the appearance of Johnson's Dictionary.⁴⁴

Corrections involving tense form or tense sequence are rare. 'I *would* be glad were he in a state of health,' 'whenever the French court *would* have a mind to make overtures of peace,' and 'I *would* be glad to ask a question' are changed in the notes to make the verb *should* in each case.⁴⁵ An elaborately formal correction appears in Sheridan's revision of the sentence, 'when your highness *shall come* to riper years and *have gone through* the learning of antiquity,' which is rewritten so as to read '*shall have come* to riper years and *gone through* . . .' or '*shall come* to riper years and *shall have gone through*. . .'.⁴⁶

Occasional comments turn on the case of the noun or pronoun before a gerund. 'The thought of the *pretender* reigning over us' is corrected to 'the *pretender's*'.⁴⁷ 'Peace without *Spain* being restored to the Austrian family' is revised to read 'without *Spain's*' or 'without *the restoration of Spain*'.⁴⁸ The construction involved in these cases was felt to be anomalous, and the confusion in regard to the case of the preceding noun or pronoun was ascribed to the 'amphibious' character of the gerund. Lowth appar-

40. XVI, 70.

41. XVI, 86; XIII, 17; III, 206.

42. Gulliver (Nichols' ed., 1801), VII, 125.

43. V, 293. This is common eighteenth-century practice. Cf. McKnight, *op. cit.*, p. 378. In the *Journal to Stella* the indicative is frequently used for the subjunctive: 'If I *was* with you,' 'I wish all your money *was* in the bank.' Swift did not, however, approve of this construction in formal writing, for in his own copy of his *Miscellanies* he revised the poem *On Dreams*, in which the clause 'as if he *was* awake' occurs, to read 'as if he *were*.'

44. Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-202.

45. V, 35; IV, 56; III, 22.

46. II, 10.

47. III, 302.

48. III, 407.

ently preferred the 'common' case; Campbell allows either; while Webster insists that the possessive construction alone represents the 'genuine English idiom.'⁴⁹

The use of a gerund as the object of a verb or infinitive is frequently criticized. Sheridan changes 'it well deserves *considering*' into 'it well deserves *to be considered*.'⁵⁰ 'A man of any party *may be allowed suspecting* that we had been . . . ill used' is rewritten in the notes so as to read *may be allowed to suspect*.⁵¹ So too, '[it was] a piece of insolence in the French *to offer putting* a king upon us,' which is changed to read *to offer to put*, or—in order to avoid the closeness of the two infinitives—'*to offer the putting of* a king upon us.'⁵² The underlying purpose in these as well as in other corrections of a similar nature seems to be the avoidance of linguistic short-cuts.

Items involving concord are also few. Swift's 'a very considerable number *is known to . . .*' is changed in the notes without comment to *are known*.⁵³ The sentence in the *Journal to Stella*, 'we had . . . such fine victuals that I could not eat *it*,' is pointed out as an illustration of false concord, though the admission is made that *victuals* is a 'peculiar sort of noun, which is never used in the singular.' Although, therefore, the expression may be excused on the ground of logic, Sheridan doubts whether Swift had any authority 'to back him up.'⁵⁴ Concord or agreement is probably also involved in the expansion of the phrase '*that* ill manners' into '*that species of* ill manners.'⁵⁵

A few comments turn also on the case of nouns or pronouns. In the clause 'could have been lost by no other person than *he*,' the last word is corrected to *him*.⁵⁶ In the clause '*who*, if they were forced to undergo the same regimen, I would undertake for the cure,' the pronoun *who* is described as being in the nominative case 'without reference to any verb afterwards.'⁵⁷ Another sentence exhibiting the same kind of ambiguity or incompleteness is the following: 'Hippocrates tells us that among our ancestors, the Scythians, there was a nation called Longheads; *which* at first began by a custom among midwives. . . .'⁵⁸ The pronoun *which*, says

49. Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

50. II, 68.

51. III, 353.

52. III, 365.

53. II, 98.

54. XIV, 384.

55. III, 24.

56. V, 293.

57. Gulliver (Nichols' ed., 1801), VII, 347.

58. II, 327. See also III, 302. Cf. *The Vicar of Wakefield*: 'This I gave him from my heart, and *which*, added to five guineas, was all the patrimony I had now to bestow.' Chapter III.

Sheridan, refers to *nation* in the preceding clause,—‘but this does not make sense.’ Both sentences are rewritten in the notes so as to correct the ambiguity and ‘make sense.’ Swift himself appears to have been puzzled by the use of relative pronouns. ‘One of the greatest difficulties in our language,’ he is reported to have said to Mr. Hooke, ‘lies in the use of relatives, and making it always evident to what antecedent they refer.’⁵⁹ The fact of the matter is that in the eighteenth century some pronouns, particularly *which*, were used loosely as conjunctions rather than as relatives, a usage which was carried over into vulgar English in the early part of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

The low or vulgar use of *what* for *that* or *as* is noted in the sentence: ‘I cannot think it a misfortune *what* Mr. Steele affirms, that treasonable books . . . have passed almost without observation.’⁶¹ Sheridan condemns the expression as ungrammatical, although some eighteenth-century grammarians acknowledge its widespread occurrence even among ‘the learned’ and defend its use as suggesting an ‘air of ease.’⁶² Sheridan’s puristic formalism also accounts for his objection to the use of the pronoun *as* and for its substitution by *who* in the sentence ‘at least those among them *as* shall be found incorrigible.’⁶³ The omission of *as* is noted several times as an incorrect mode of speech frequently used by Swift in such phrases as ‘but no one so bold to pronounce,’ ‘I have been so curious to ask,’ ‘therefore ministers are so wise to leave their proceedings.’⁶⁴

The improper use of certain correlative conjunctions is also noticed. Swift’s sentence ‘*nor* am I at all offended, *or* do I think it an injury,’ draws a long note, in which Sheridan corrects the use of the negative conjunction in one part of the sentence and the affirmative in the other, indicating at the same time that the usage complained of is quite common.⁶⁵ On the other hand, Sheridan does not remark on the frequent use of the double negative in Swift, such as ‘I can’t *nor* won’t read,’ ‘*nor*

59. Spence, *Anecdotes*, p. 291, f. n.

60. Cf. Storm, *op. cit.*, p. 802, who quotes Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*: ‘I live in X Street, *which* it is four years since I moved.’ Cf. also Robert Baker, *Remarks on the English Language*, 2d ed., London, 1779, p. 87: ‘A word is often employed in the nominative case without governing any verb, or being in apposition with any other nominative. . . . But this way of speaking, which is very convenient, is, at the same time, so universal (for we have perhaps no author who avoids it) that I dare not pronounce it to be bad English.’ The sentence which produced this comment is the following (from the *Parliamentary Debates*): ‘It is against the laws of the realm; *which*, as they are preserved and maintained by your majesty’s authority, so we assure ourselves you will not suffer them to be violated by your family.’

61. III, 342.

62. Robert Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

63. II, 501.

64. II, 109; IV, 271; IV, 255.

65. V, 12.

I don't know when anything will, 'I can know nothing, *nor* themselves *neither*.'⁶⁶ A possible explanation for his silence on this point may be the fact that most of these instances occur in the *Journal to Stella*, where, as he explains in connection with other matters, 'some degree of negligence is allowable.'⁶⁷

A dislike for the colloquial and unadorned may possibly be the reason for Sheridan's objection to the order of words in the clause 'we have just *enough* religion to make us hate . . . one another.'⁶⁸ The position of *enough* here as an adjective preceding the substantive is, according to Sheridan, 'not allowed'; and the sentence is rewritten to read 'religion *enough*' or '*enough of* religion.'

In several notes Sheridan calls attention to the uneuphonious arrangement of words. In the clause '*neither* can I excuse *either* side,' the awkwardness produced by the juxtaposition of two words with similar sounds is noticed.⁶⁹ Elsewhere Sheridan objects to the phrase 'the youngest and *disagreeablest* children,' because the second adjective has a 'bad sound.'⁷⁰ Cacophony as well as obsolescence seems to be the basis for his objection to the *-eth* termination for the third person, singular, present of verbs, for he calls it a 'dead, obtuse sound, formed of the thickened breath, without any mixture of the voice, resembling the noise made by an angry goose.'⁷¹

It is instructive to compare some of the points raised by Sheridan's comments with Swift's own criticism of the linguistic practices of his contemporaries. In *The Importance of the Guardian Considered* (1713), for example, he corrects Steele's sentence, 'he thinks his queen and country is ill-treated,' to *are*, adding the note: 'as a grammarian would express it!'⁷² In his *Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction* (1713), he quotes a short passage from the bishop's essay, correcting the word *if* to *whether* in the sentence 'the freethinkers would consider *if* they think it possible.'⁷³ In the *Journal to Stella* he satirizes the use of *nor* for *than* in the common speech of Londoners.⁷⁴ In his annotations on Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Times* (1724-34), he ridicules the comparative *liker* for *more like*, used by Bishop Burnet, and the superlative *piousest* for *most pious*, both of which he regards as Scotticisms.⁷⁵ In thus express-

66. XIV, 291; XV, 335; XV, 238.

67. II, Preface.

68. V, 476. See also Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

69. III, 53.

70. III, 159.

71. II, Preface.

72. *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott, London, 1907, V, 302.

73. *Ibid.*, III, 151.

74. Letter LIX, January 25, 1712/13.

75. Temple Scott, X, 327.

ing his dissatisfaction with irregular and ungrammatical constructions, Swift was himself contributing in his own way to the stabilization of English style.

Sheridan's comments are characteristic of the period in which he lived and of the interest in verbal criticism which is a striking feature of that period. Though a great deal of his criticism is trivial judged by present-day standards, it exhibits, nevertheless, the interest in logical and formal correctness which was the century's chief contribution to the regularization of language usages. Moreover, although only fifty or sixty years separate Sheridan's revisions from the date of the original writing, the very authoritativeness and finality with which he comments indicate the tremendous strides which the English language had made during that half-century toward fixed standards of correct usage.

'BUZZ WORDS' AT THE
'B SCHOOL'

Students at the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University use a specialized vocabulary known as 'buzz words' to describe the key to any particular course or situation. To ask for the answer or solution for any given case one merely asks, 'What's the word?'

To find the underlying factors in a labor case a student searches for the 'logic of the context' and is on the alert for any 'residual sentiments of hostility.' He also looks for appropriate times to 'ceremonialize' and knows the 'value of using a crisis situation for teaching.'

In another course the student knows that he must 'marshal his evidence' and that his 'recom-

mendations must meet the conditions of the analysis.' The first question he asks in considering recommendations is 'what the company must do to be a success in the industry.' If his analysis does not highlight the most important problems he has 'poor focus,' and if he fails to emphasize important recommendations he will be accused of 'tinkering.' If the sequence for the 'implementation' of the recommendations is not good it is a matter of 'poor timing.'

To succeed, the student must 'get on top of the problem.' He must 'hit the problem' and not 'shadow box.' If he cannot do these things he might just as well 'turn in his suit.'

F. M. HALLGREN
H. WEISS

‘SEMESTER’

KEMP MALONE

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FOR centuries *term* has been the regular name, in English, for a major division of the academic year.¹ In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, two new words arose, in the United States, to dispute its supremacy: *quarter* and *semester*. Both these words, as substitutes for *term*, have remained Americanisms; they have not gained currency in the English language as a whole. But *quarter* is an old word in English, though new to academic jargon, and when William Rainey Harper decided to keep the University of Chicago open the year round and to divide this unusually long session² into four terms instead of the customary two, it was quite natural for him to seize upon the familiar *quarter* as the name for a term that lasted a quarter of the academic year. His example was widely followed, and many American institutions of learning now divide the year into quarters. Such a quarter may be as short as eight weeks and as long as 13 weeks;³ the word *quarter* therefore does not of itself specify the length of the period which it names. Usually the academic quarter lives up to its name in that it makes approximately a fourth part (Latin *quartarius*) of the academic year. A few institutions, however, believe it or not, divide the year into three ‘quarters.’⁴

Semester has had a different history. It came to us from Germany, and its adoption exemplifies the influence of German higher education upon American university life in the long period between the Civil War and the first World War. The Germans divide the academic year into two terms: a *Sommersemester*, from Easter to Michaelmas (Sept. 29), and a *Wintersemester*, from Michaelmas to Easter. Each of these terms is about six months in length (ignoring periods of recess); hence the name *semester*.⁵ Obviously such a name does not fit the American scene: we

1. It may also be used to name a minor division. Thus, a summer school of twelve weeks may be divided into two terms of six weeks each.

2. By *session* I mean ‘academic year,’ but at Columbia and in a few other institutions *session* means ‘academic term.’

3. It lasts eight weeks in the Schools of Medicine and Hygiene of the Johns Hopkins University, but as long as 13 weeks at Ripon College.

4. Examples: Agnes Scott College, Antioch College, Ripon College. At the last-named institution the three quarters differ in length, the shortest lasting 10½ weeks, the longest 13 weeks. Such variation may also be found elsewhere, not only in the length of quarters but also in that of terms, semesters and even half-years.

5. The Latin adj. *seme(n)stris* is made up of two elements: *se-* ‘six’ (combining form of the numeral *sex*) and *-menstris* ‘monthly’ (from *mens-*, base of *mensis* ‘month’). The *n* was early lost before *s* here as elsewhere.

have a summer vacation far too long to be ignored as a mere period of recess, and we have a notably short academic year, divided by tradition into two four-month (not six-month) terms. But the academic admirers of Germany were bent on expressing themselves, and they proceeded, in some of our institutions of learning, to give up *term* in favor of *semester* despite etymology and German usage. The length of an American semester varies with the institution. I have found four lengths not uncommon: 15-week, 16-week, 17-week, and 18-week 'semesters.' In no case, however, does an American semester live up to its name; it never lasts six months, or anything like that length of time.

It was not merely admiration for things German which led college and university authorities to adopt the new word. Official English, otherwise known as 'Officialese,' is notoriously given to long, pretentious words, and educational officials do not differ from government bureaucrats in their linguistic taste. The chance to replace a short old word like *term* with the trisyllabic neologism *semester* was too good to miss, and the administrators hastened to do their stuff: the *DAE* traces *semester*, as an American academic expression, back to 1881.

By way of illustration of the use of *semester* the *DAE* gives the following quotations from nineteenth-century sources:

1881 *Missouri Univ. Cat.* p. 40 The Juniors and Seniors . . . spent the balance of the semester in studying simple methods of teaching physics.

1890 *Webster [Dict.]* p. 1308/1 *Semester*, . . . a period of six months; especially, a term in a college or university which divides the year into two terms.

1895 *Univ. Nebraska Calendar 1895-6* p. 33 The year is divided upon the semester plan. Each semester has eighteen weeks.

Alongside the *Webster* definition of 1890 (the second of the three quotations just given), it will be instructive to set the *Webster* definition of 1934:

Semester . . . 1. Orig. a period of six months. 2. Hence, either of the two periods of instruction, commonly eighteen weeks in length, into which the academic year is usually divided.

Both the definitions of 1934 are obviously derived from the definition of 1890, though 'two periods of instruction' has been substituted for 'two terms' and other changes have been made. Let us first look at *semester* as defined to mean 'a period of six months.' This generic meaning, based on the etymology, does not occur in English, so far as I know. Before 1881 the word occurs only in passages dealing with German university life (if we may go by the quotations in the *NED*), and its meaning is

'either of the two six-month parts into which the German academic year is divided.' The first definition of the 1934 *Webster* should be changed to read accordingly. The second definition, though not so bad as the first, likewise suffers from serious weaknesses. For one thing, it should be marked 'U.S.' or otherwise labeled a meaning peculiar to America. Again, the specification of length as 'commonly eighteen weeks' is wrong; as I pointed out above, the American semester varies in length with the institution, and even within the institution. Finally, one may object to the 'usually' of the definition. Division of the academic year into two parts is frequent, of course, but division into three parts is not uncommon, and division into four parts (the so-called quarter system) is also widespread.

Since the publication of the 1934 *Webster* the meaning of *semester* has undergone further modification in American use. The editors of *Webster* evidently took it for granted that a semester was half the academic year. It did not occur to them that the year might be divided into three or even into four semesters. Wartime acceleration, however, brought about this division in some institutions of learning. Let us look first at the Navy and then at the Army program of acceleration. The naval authorities who set up the so-called V-12 program divided the year into three parts of 16 weeks each, but they were careful to call these parts *terms*, not *semesters*. The institutions which adopted the program did not all prove so scrupulous. Indeed, they seem to have lined up half and half on this issue. Among those who divided the year into three semesters one notes such respectable members of educational society as Brown University, Tulane University, Wesleyan University, DePauw University, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Lehigh University, University of the South (Sewanee), and Bethany College (W.Va.). The Army ASTP program differed from the Navy V-12 program in that it divided the year into four parts of 12 weeks each. I have found no college or university which gave the official name *semester* to the 12-week period of instruction, but this name seems to have been current to some degree in unofficial use, if one may judge by the expression 'four-semester college' used by a well-known educator in a magazine article.⁶ Certainly *semester* is no longer restricted to the meaning 'academic half-year' and is steadily becoming a mere synonym for *term*. The fact that so many institutions substituted *semester* for the Navy's *term* is indicative enough, while 'four-semester college' is clearly another way of saying 'four-term college'; that is, a college which divides the academic year into four terms. The conclusion

6. G. N. Shuster, in *Sewanee Review*, LII, p. 21.

seems irresistible that the second as well as the first definition of the 1934 *Webster* must be given up altogether. Definition 2 should read: 'In many American colleges and universities, each of the major parts into which the academic year is divided; such parts vary in number and length.' The variation proceeds from so many factors (e.g., seasonal adjustments, holidays, etc.; choice of system of division: by halves, thirds, or fourths; inclusion or not of the summer school in the academic year) that these cannot be specified in the definition.

Alongside *semester* there has arisen, in the jargon of registrars, the expression *semester hour* as a name for a unit of measure used in recording and certifying academic 'credits' for courses taken. This unit is quantitative, of course. Now units of measure are normally constants, not variables. Thus, the foot is regularly 12 inches in length; it does not vary between, say, 10 inches and 13 inches from tape to tape. But we have seen that the length of the American semester varies markedly in number of weeks. In other words, the institutions that set down the students' credits in semester hours are using a variable, not a constant, as their unit of measure. This curious method of reckoning credits is widespread, though happily not general, in this odd country of ours.

Let me venture to make a suggestion to the administrative authorities who decide such matters. If one must have a variable unit of measure, the fact that it is a variable ought to be made plain and unmistakable on the face of the record. I therefore suggest that the unit of measure be called, not *semester hour*, a name which to the uninitiated implies a constant, but *x-week hour*, a name which marks the unit unmistakably as a variable. The value of *x* at a given institution of learning could then be duly specified somewhere on the transcript issued by that institution, and the quantitative value of the student's credits would be known. But of course it would be simpler, and equally accurate, if each institution recorded credits in 12-week, 13-week, 14-week, 15-week, 16-week, 17-week, or 18-week hours as the particular case might be. Certainly *semester hour*, *term hour*, *quarter hour*, and *session hour* are not very enlightening as they stand.

The expression *semester system* also occurs in academic jargon. Used originally to mean a two-term system, a division of the academic year into two parts, nowadays it may also mean a three-term or even a four-term system. For the sake of clarity, speakers and writers had better avoid so ambiguous an expression as 'semester system' and say 'two-term, three-term, or four-term system' as the case may be.

It remains to consider the connotation of *semester*. As an upstart in the English language it naturally lacks the prestige, the social standing

of *term*. It has not made its way into institutions like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, or Dartmouth. Amherst, and Williams, where *term* denotes the academic half-year. One finds *semester* most strongly entrenched in the West, the region in which it was first taken up, though even here many colleges and universities (e.g., the University of Michigan and the University of California) have kept the old word *term*, while many others follow the example of the University of Chicago and divide the year into four *quarters*. In general, one associates *semester* with institutions not deeply rooted, foundations newer or less secure, places where tradition has not great strength and innovation is easy. In going through the catalogs I have found that the great majority of the colleges and universities that use *semester* conform (so far as I can judge) to this description. A few notable exceptions occur, however. Thus, Bowdoin College, old and conservative though it is, has adopted *semester*. I have also found indications that *semester* has passed its peak; some institutions have recently changed from *semester* to *term* in their official publications.⁷ Whether this is a meaningless variation, or foreshadows a real decline in the use of *semester*, the future will have to decide.

By way of appendix, I take up briefly the word *half-year*. This name for an academic term implies, of course, a two-term system of division. *Half-year* was formerly used in a number of institutions, and is still in use at Rice Institute, Simmons College, and elsewhere. Before acceleration began, *half-year* was the official name for a term in the nonmedical divisions of the Johns Hopkins University, though *term* also appears freely in the official publications. With acceleration, however, *half-year* became a misnomer and *term* held the field alone. Upon restoration of the old two-term system, the administrative authorities introduced *semester* for the sake of contrast during the period of transition, *term* having become associated with acceleration. The innovation aroused opposition among some of the old-timers on the staff, however, and *term* has now been adopted once more for official use, *half-year* getting lost in the shuffle. I cannot say how *half-year* came to fall by the wayside at Harvard and in other institutions where its use has been given up.

The expression *term paper* also deserves mention here. This expression seems to be in general use; it has not been replaced by *semester paper* or the like in institutions which divide the academic year into semesters, half-years, quarters, or sessions instead of terms. The inconsistency in-

7. Examples: University of Southern California, Georgia School of Technology, Illinois Institute of Technology, Bowling Green State University (Ohio).

volved in writing a term paper for a semester course seems obvious, but here the old expression has held its ground.

POSTSCRIPT

In the following passage from a Washington dispatch (Associated Press) dated Oct. 2, 1946, the word *semester* is used in its etymological sense, viz. 'period of six months':

The Army took the wraps off its revised plan for universal military service today . . . Training Required: One year or its equivalent. The first six months would be in army camps, with eight weeks devoted to basic military training and the rest of the semester to technical and advanced training. . . . To discharge the obligation of the last half of the required year a man would have these options: serve six more months; enlist in any of the regular armed services . . .

If the Army really undertakes to use *semester* in this sense, the word will acquire a military meaning that conforms to its etymology but departs from ordinary (and extraordinary) American academic usage. Life gets more complicated every day!

'SWARP' AND SOME OTHER KENTUCKY WORDS

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A LIST of localisms in diction and idiom, accumulated rather informally during five years of residence in Rowan County, Kentucky, has of course proved on systematic comparison with leading dictionaries¹ to consist mainly of items already recorded. Of the terms and constructions discussed below, some are not listed at all and some not in the sense indicated; others appear to need additional comment. In general, definitions easily accessible have not been repeated.

The larger list from which these items are culled was recorded mainly from the conversation of many speakers, representing all cultural levels from illiterates to Ph.D.'s, but mostly native to the region. As item after item was laid aside because of a satisfactory published definition, usually in *ADD*, the number of illustrative quotations from Jesse Stuart exactly paralleling my independent recording of spoken usage became noticeable—so noticeable as to form a testimony to the dialectal accuracy of Mr. Stuart's work, the chief locale of which is Greenup County, not far from Rowan.

BED, *n.* Phrase, 'In the bed.' 'He's been sick in the bed all week.' 'I was so tired (tard) I was in the bed before eight o'clock.' This use of the definite article may derive from a time when one house normally contained one bed. The oldest similar citation in *OED* is from the King James Bible.

CAPS, *n.* Popcorn. 'A poke o' caps.' Also CAP, *v.tr.* To pop (corn). *ADD* lists *capper*, a corn popper, supported by a verified quotation from Jesse Stuart, but omits the form *caps*.

CARTON-BOX. A characteristic reduction.

CLIVS, *n.* This pl. of *cliff* not men-

tioned in *ADD*; ME parallels noted in *OED*.

CRYSTIAL, *n.* Crystal. *ADD* cites Mo. and Ark. examples. Current also in Ky.

DÖG-BIT, *adj.* Bitten by a dog. *ADD* cites Mo. and Ark.; current also in n.e. Ky., as are *mad-dog-bit* (not listed), *snake-bit* (not listed).

DOUBLE NEGATIVE. What seems a special case of this construction is illustrated by these quotations: 'I wouldn't be surprised when this war is over that the cost per casualty will not be around \$100,000.' 'I wouldn't be surprised if we wouldn't have to work two or three hours overtime.'

1. *DAE* = *Dictionary of American English*; *ADD* = Wentworth, *American Dialect Dictionary*; *EDD* = Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*; *OED* = *Oxford English Dictionary*; *NID* = *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd. ed. Also consulted: Bartlett, John Russell, *Dictionary of Americanisms* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1877); Partridge, Eric, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London, Routledge, 1937); Thornton, Richard H., *An American Glossary* (Vols. I, II, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1912; Vol. III, Madison, Amer. Dialect Soc., 1939).

DRINNLE, *v.* To dwindle. This pronunciation, listed doubtfully in *ADD* with a single citation of *drinling* in a non-definitive context from Ga., can be confirmed for n.e. Ky.: 'The creeks has just kindly drinnled out.' (*Creek*, incidentally, is in this region never pronounced *crick*.)

FERTILIZE, *n.* Fertilizer. Common in Ky. as well as in regions cited in *ADD*.

FOR SURE, *phr.* Sure. 'I think so, but I'm not for sure.'

GLIB, *adv.* Briskly, quickly, vigorously. In the dark I overtook a man who looked around and said (mentioning a cripple): 'Hello, Gene—Oh! I thought you was Gene Hargis, but I didn't think Gene would be walkin' along so glib.'

HAMMERIN'-TACKS. A redundancy not listed in *ADD*.

HARVESSES. This *pl.* of *harvest* is a 'correct' analogical formation from the mispronounced *harves*'. (*ADD* lists *Baptis'es*, etc.)

HIDE, *n.* Human skin. Very common and not restricted to the South, though perhaps usually jocular in other regions, as indicated in *NID*; not listed in current American sources; mentioned in *OED*.

HOPE HOW SOON (IT HAPPENS), *phr.* Hope it may happen soon. Common in n.e. Ky.; *ADD* citations all from W.Va.

HOVING OUT, HOVED OUT. *Pple.* Bulged, warped, swollen (used of wood-work). Not satisfactorily treated in any recent book consulted; may be from obs. or dial. *v.* to *hove* (*OED*) rather than from *heave* (*OED*; Bartlett).

INDIRECT OBJECT. A colloquial reflexive use of this construction has wide, perhaps national, currency, especially in the first and third persons: 'I got me a job.' 'He bought him a drink.' In n.e. Ky. the construction is varied and extended. With pronouns: 'He is looking for us a place to stay.' 'Here's you some money.' 'Do you need you one?' 'Kelley, here's you a nice easy one.' 'I hunted the hills over fer you a squirrel and I couldn't find one' (Jesse Stuart, *Trees of Heaven*, p. 38). 'I looked for him one.' 'Did you have him one?' 'Then he'd go 'way off to the side with him a guy-line.' (This last of a spider spinning a web.)

With nouns: 'He had his wife a bracelet made with some of the medals he had won.' 'Somebody drag Marie a chair up close.' 'We put Jack a rain cape on.'

KEEP, *v.intr.* (a) To dwell, reside, live (*DAE* sense 1, *colloq.* and *obsolescent*; latest citation 1889); to maintain an office or place of business. Still heard in n.e. Ky.: 'Is this whar Dr. Nelson keeps?' (b) To stay temporarily: '. . . an inexpensive place to keep overnight in Louisville' (*Courier-Journal*, editorial page, January 26, 1945).

MEAT, *n.* Human flesh (*DAE* sense 5, marked *slang* and *obs.*; latest quotation 1847). Occasionally heard in n.e. Ky., and by no means always jocular: 'His arm's hurt awful bad; the meat's a-comin' off.'

MIND, *v.tr.* To object; to be unwilling or reluctant (*NID*, sense 6). Used with infinitive as object where standard usage employs the gerund: 'I don't believe he minds to spend if he can get his money's worth.' 'Would you mind to bring a few sandwiches?'

MISPUT, *v.tr.* To inconvenience; to put out. Query: also *disput*?

NOTE BOOK, *n.* A song book with music (distinct from the *Sweet Songster*, a small vest-pocket book in which words only are printed.) 'They been singin' out o' them note books at the meetin's over thar.'

SCRIBE, *v.tr.* To write. 'Sam, take yer pencil an' scribe down these measurements.' (Possibly also to address): 'Will you scribe this letter for me?' Believed to be dialectal, though recorded in *NID* without such notation.

SEED, *n.* Testicle (human). 'I been injured; I got one seed as big's your fist.'

SMOTHERSOME, *adj.* Hot and humid; suffocating. 'Kind of a smothersome day.'

STUB UP, *v.phr.* To balk, to become obstinate; also to shut up, to become silent. 'All the way we were talking along, but just as soon as we got near home she stubbed up and never said a word.'

SUPERLATIVE (DOUBLE). 'That's the *most mainest* thing right now. Get that settled, and these other things will just kindly decide themselves.'

SWARP, *n.*, defined in *ADD* as 'a stroke,

cut,' with one citation from Jesse Stuart. Besides a cutting stroke, this word as a noun sometimes means a swishing or swinging motion: 'One day he gets too sorry to bend and lace his shoes, and it's a *swarp*, *swarp* every step' (James Still, 'Mrs. Razor,' *Atl. M.*, July, 1945, p. 53). Also, verb senses: (a) to swing; to strike, especially with a swinging or whipping motion: 'His mother swarped the belt at him through the open door.' '... climbin' the ridge with the brush swarpin' you in the face. . .' (b) to wipe or 'swipe' (the following citation also illustrates the use of *sorghum* as a plural, deriving from the use of plural pronouns and verbs with *molasses*, as with *cheese*; the innovation in the spelling of *biscuit* is possibly traceable to the trade name *Bisquick*): 'I am running out of molasses. I do wish some of my good neighbors would bring me in a half-gallon of good sorghum. I like a little on my bisquits now and then. Then I like to pour a little on my plate and swarp a hot bisquit through them' (Woody Hinton, *Rowan Co. News*, Jan. 17, 1946). (c) In the pp1e. form *swarping* only, the word has some currency in a sense roughly definable as wenching, hell-raising; or more mildly as skylarking, cavorting, playing: 'The boys was out swarpin' (or 'swarpin' around') last night.' The occurrence of the opprobrious sense appears to be spotty; the word is used in the other senses freely and without embarrassment by native speakers who are distinctly modest. SWARPY, *adj.* Full, swinging: 'A little old woman in a long swarpy dress.' *Swarp* appears to derive from ME *swap* as found in Chaucer and as represented by later uses recorded in *EDD*; presumably the intrusion of *r* occurred in America.

THAT, *conj.* (superfluous). A redundant *that* after an adverbial clause preceding a noun clause is a construction heard in many if not in all parts of the country: 'I said that if it rained that the road would be bad.' In n.e. Ky. a superfluous *that* occurs in some other connections: '... the agencies that they hope that will participate in the program. . .' '... consider what data that we can find on the subject. . .' 'It does look like that college students shouldn't have any difficulty . . .' '... how that education may improve rural life in the South. . .' These citations are from educated speakers, but the last two constructions, *like that* and *how that*, are heard on all levels.

TIP, *v.tr.* To touch, especially to touch lightly. This sense, recorded in *OED* and in *EDD*, should be recorded from n.e. Ky.: 'A queer thing about him, he never tipped his own baby.' 'Just tip that mule with the whip and he'll go right along.' Believed to be obsolete in standard speech, though it is not so marked in *NID*, sense 1.

TURN, *n.* Disposition; distinctive personal character, nature, or inclination. This sense is related to *OED* definitions 34 (n) and 5 (v), to *NID* noun senses 15a and 16, and also to its use in Ward's *Simple Cobbler* (1647): 'I hope that no member . . . hath . . . ingratiated himself into the hearts of the House, that he might . . . midwife out some ungracious toleration for his owne turne. . .' Current in n.e. Ky.: 'I don't like her turn.' 'I didn't mean anything; that's just my turn.' Also TURNED, *adj.*: 'They're the queerest turned people I ever did see.' 'He said I was the most hateful turned girl he ever met.'

TENTATIVE ADDENDA

The following items are doubtful for various reasons; some occurred in non-definitive contexts; others may be individualisms. They are added here for possible confirmation or correction by others.

KYORN BUG, KYARN BUG. Pronunciations reported for *carriion-bug*.

DRAWERS, *n.* Dentist's ('tooth-dentist's') forceps.

FAR FROM WRONG, *phr.* Far wrong.

GABBER, *v.intr.* To jabber.

LEAK, *n.* The flow from a downspout or gutter (the gutter or spout itself?)
'... a bucket under the leak of the house.'

LOOK DOWN ONE'S NOSE. In addition to the usual senses (to scorn or despise, and to sulk or pout), one speaker was

heard to use it in the sense of to listen perforce, to agree under compulsion: 'They really made old Buck look down his nose to them.'

SMELTERING, *adj.* Sweltering.

UGLY, *adj.* Greedy? Grasping?

WAGGER, *v.* To wag. 'Tongues that wagger and make trouble.'

AUSTRALIAN 'COBBER'

Professor Robert J. Menner, in his review of *The Australian Language*, by Sidney J. Baker (*American Speech*, April, 1946, pp. 120-122), makes reference to the Australian word *cobber*, and suggests that it is hardly necessary to give the word an English derivation, since the verb *cob*, from which it is supposedly derived, is of very doubtful authenticity. I should like to agree with Professor Menner, since it seems obvious to me that the word *cobber* can only be derived from the Hebrew *chuver*, which means 'comrade,' 'pal,' or 'buddy,' and is in very common use among

Yiddish-speaking Jews and some Gentiles today.

This Hebrew derivation is not far-fetched, in view of the very common use of *chuver* in English-speaking countries, and in view of the fact that other Hebrew words have been taken into Australian slang and have found a permanent status within the Australian language. Probably the most notable of these is the word *shikker*, meaning 'drunk' in both Australian and Hebrew. I understand that in Australia it is usually found as *shikkered*, or *shikkered-up*.

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NOTES ON *DAE*: II. WORDS OF DOUBTFUL AMERICAN ORIGIN

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THE DETERMINATION of English or American priority of words forming a part of American speech is a question upon which there would appear to be two very distinct opinions.

Mr. H. L. Mencken in *The American Language* (4th ed., especially I, 4 and VI, 3) belabours the Englishman who would examine 'nto this matter. Even the old jibe that Chaucer used 'I guess' is adduced as proof of such an Englishman's hypocrisy, malignant anti-Americanism, utter ignorance of what he is setting out to examine, and indeed of all the sins and crimes that flow, in the Sage of Baltimore's mind, from being a subject of King George—no distinction being made between III and VI.

On the other hand, the editors of *A Dictionary of American English*, in their prefatory note to Volume I, lay down that 'it is only by close comparison with the English record that it is possible to decide how much is really new in the American vocabulary.'

This kindlier judgment permits of the submission here of a list of some forty words marked in *DAE* with the symbol + to indicate apparent American origin, but of which an earlier English example has been found.

It must, of course, be emphasized that the resultant English priority is by no means absolute, but only relative to the earliest American date given in *DAE*. At least two instances occur to the writer's mind in which a word marked + in *DAE* lost its U. S. priority, only to have this restored on further research by a still earlier American example. Such are the beauties of 'historical principles' in lexicography.

In the main a nondescript and even humdrum list of words stands forth as deprived, perhaps temporarily, of American nationality. Indeed the majority are so clearly common to both bodies of speech that it may be wondered how they ever came by their +.

Small groups of words isolate themselves as having what might be termed a natural priority on one side or other of the linguistic fence. For instance, the list includes four words which are inalienably American, and it is only the need of further American research that leaves them with a momentary and inconsiderable priority in English printed examples. These words are *bloomer* (3), 1851 (1852), *boy* (+ 1), 1749 (1764), *Kentucky rifle*, 1838 (1839), and *silver king* (1), 1882 (1889). Against these, to English eyes and ears *asking price*, 1755 (1846), *camp chair*, 1801 (1861), *duck gun*, 1813 (1834), and *Johnny Newcome*, 1815 (1885), are all deeply

embedded in the older speech and would be most unfamiliar as Americanisms.

Two words which may occasion surprise in their suggested English priority are *feature*, *n.*, in the Hollywood sense, 1838 (1842), and *go*, *n.* (+ 1), 'a success,' 1854 (1876). Two lesser surprises are the Canadian priority for *burn*, *n.* (+ 1), 'a conflagration,' 1834 (1847), and for *fur trade*, 1732 (1742). *Pen*² (4. + c), 'a place of confinement in a police court,' 1755 (1904), is probably from the dates a fresh American revival. *Saloon-keeper*, 1849 (1873), is a case of a word really of different meanings in the two countries, though both meanings come within the existing *DAE* definition.

In conclusion, three words in *DAE* are suggested as duly qualified candidates for a + they do not at present possess. These are *bridge-jumper*, *farce-comedy*, and *pimlico order*.

+ ANKLE-BOOT, 1844 (1861). Unpublished letter in possession of Sir St. Vincent Troubridge, from Captain St. Vincent Troubridge to his sister, Charlotte Troubridge, dated 31 Oct. 1844: 'I have been in an intense state of anxiety respecting a pair of ankle boots which I left behind.'

+ ASKING PRICE, 1755 (1846). *Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (1929 reprint of 1755 ed.), 124: 'I flew with impatient Joy, to all the Brokers in Town, to buy my Household Furniture, gave the asking price for everything I bought.'

+ BABY SHOW, 1865 (1867). *Once a Week*, XIII, 133/1: 'Within the last few years there has been a mania for shows; we have had dog shows, donkey shows, baby shows, and last, not least, horse shows.'

+ BACK PAY (1), 1804 (1865). F. Moore, 9 June, in *Charges against H.R.H. The Duke of York in Feb. and March 1809* (1809), 542: 'in which case, if approved, Mr. Dundas would not object to allow them back-pay.'

+ BANK PARLOR, 1859 (1881). G. A. Sala, *Twice Round the Clock* (1878, first publ. 1859), 160: 'Tremendous bank-partners, who are baronets, and members of Parliament, lords even—stalk back from 'Change, pay a farewell visit to the bank parlour, have a short but solemn confab with confidential subordinates.'

+ B'HOY, 1833 (1846). *Beulah Spa; or,*

Two of the B'hoys, a farce by Charles Dance, was first performed at the Olympic Theatre on 18 Nov. 1833.

+ BILL HOLDER, 1830 (1846). G. Colman, *Random Records*, I, 271: 'Here was the devil to pay!—or, rather the bill-holders . . . were to be paid, or not paid, as it might happen.'

+ BLACK JOKE, THE, 1796 (1799). In F. Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 3d ed., 1796.

+ BLOOMER (3), 1851 (1852). J. R. Planché, *The Prince of Happy Land* (1851), IV, 206 (coll. ed., 1879):

'Ambassador: Worse! if the dreadful
rumour
Be true, her Highness has
become—

Prince: A bloomer!
Ambassador: No, but as much unlike to
womankind.'

BOARDER (+ 3), 1806 (1903). 11 Aug. in *Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (1932), I, 314: 'I wish I could promise to add to your convenience by accommodating the boarder, but our grass has been so scanty that . . . we could not do him justice.'

BOY (+ 1), 1749 (1764). R. Goadby, *Life of Bamfylde Moore Carew* (1788, first publ. 1749), 93: 'They [sc. the American Indians] have servants whom they call black boys.'

BUFFET (+ 2), 1849 (1890). *The Theatrical Programme*, No. 6, 44 (9 July):

'Cremorne Gardens . . . And all the American Drinks will be served in the highest perfection at the New and Splendid Buffet.'

BURN, *n.* (+ 1), 1834 (1847). Journal 28 Apr. [Canada] in *Six Years in the Bush* (1838), 42: 'A great burn in which the wind rose so high as to endanger my shanty.'

+ CACHUCHA, 1837 (1840). J. R. Planché, *Puss in Boots* (1837), I, 271 (coll. ed., 1879):

'*Shipperella*: What is your favorite dance? *Puss*: The Cat-alonian Cat-chouca.'

+ CAMP CHAIR, 1800 (1861). T. Morton, *Speed the Plough* (produced 1800), Act I: '*Sir Abel Handy*: . . . I always carry my seat with me (spreads a small camp-chair).'

+ CANOE CLUB, 1866 (1872). J. MacGregor, *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe*, 4: 'You may see a list of them in the "Canoeist," published by the Canoe Club.'

CELESTIAL, *n.* (+ 1), 1842 (1843). W. Dyott, 24 Nov. in *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845*, II, 365 (1907): 'Accounts arrived with glorious news of Peace with China. . . . The terms of peace with the celestials highly favourable and most humiliating to the Great Emperor and his vassals.'

CRADLING (+ 2), 1853 (1858). Mrs. C. Clacy, *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852-53*, 117: 'For the better the puddling is, so much the more easy and profitable is the cradling.'

DO, *v.t.* (+ 1), 1858 (1869). H. J. Byron, *The Maid and the Magpie Travestie* (produced 1858), 18 (Jewish character loq.): 'When the farmers around are behind in their rent

I does little Villiams at sixty per shent.'

DOUBLE UP, *v.* (*Double*, + 3), 1789 (1893). July in *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845*, I, 63 (1907): 'I was very unpleasantly situated, being obliged to double-up with a jolly ensign, or take lodgings in the town.'

+ DUCK GUN, 1813 (1834). Vide *OED*, *duck*, sb.¹ (11.a), 1813 quot.

+ ELECTION LAW, 1784 (1807). 2d Lord Fife 24 Mar. in A. and H. Tayler, *Lord Fife and His Factor* (1925), 171:

'They are very active in reforming the election laws, but very idle in publick good.'

FEATURE, *n.* *Theat.* (+), 1838 (1842). *Actors by Daylight*, I, 133: 'In the meantime Covent Garden was advertised to open, and Miss Fanny Kemble announced as the feature, who was to disencumber the management of its several embarrassments.'

+ FIRST GALLERY, 1749 (1885). H. Fielding, *Tom Jones*, Bk. XVI, ch. 5: 'In the first row, then, of the first gallery, did Mr. Jones, Mrs. Miller, her youngest daughter, and Partridge take their places.'

+ FREE AND EASY, *n.*, 1823 (1837). The distinction in meaning between the *DAE* definition and *OED*'s definition B is too narrow to claim + for this word.

+ FREE LIST (2). *Theater*. 1806 (1845). Letter 26 Dec. in *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sumbel, Late Wells* (1811), III, 212: 'He has received Mr. Thomas Sheridan's directions to put her name and friend on the free-list.'

+ FUR TRADE, 1732 (1742). Letter 11 Sept. [Nova Scotia] in *Cal. of State Papers, America and W. Indies, 1732*, 255: 'While our English merchants employ them [sc. the French] to sell their goods to the Indians, whereby they . . . engross the whole management of the fur trade.'

+ GALLERY BOY, 1874 (1887). Speech, June, in J. Hatton, *Reminiscences of J. L. Toole* (1892, first publ. 1888), 155: 'Of course the soliloquy could not go on; the gallery boys were rather indignant, and one shouted, "Come out, Toole, and give us a song."'

GO, *n.* (+ 1), 1854 (1876). J. R. Planché, *Mr. Buckstone's Voyage round the Globe* (1854), V, 28 (coll. ed., 1879): 'Such shows are no great goes.'

GO, *v.* (+ 16), *to go the entire animal*, 1864 (1902). Vide *OED*, *animal* (a.4), 1864 quot.

+ GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 1775. V. Morris, 20 Jan. [Antigua] in *Hist. MSS. Comm., 14th Rep.*, App. X, 497: 'Wishes to be reimbursed the money he has spent on the repairs of the Government House.' [Although the three senses given in *DAE* are all specifically American, and not ante-

dated by the above example, the word itself, and not the separate senses, is given +.]

+ GOVERNMENT OFFICE (1), 1859 (1880). G.A. Sala, *Twice Round the Clock* (1878, first publ. 1859), 69: 'There are some government offices in the distance.'

JOHNNY NEWCOME (*Johnny*, + 7), 1815 (1885). [D. Roberts], *The Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome, with an Account of His Campaigns in the Peninsula and in Pall Mall*.

+ KENTUCKY RIFLE, 1838 (1839). J. R. Planché, *The Drama's Levée* (1838), II, 25 (coll. ed., 1879):

'*Drama*: Actors or actresses—there isn't one
Who any service to my state has done
But in a moment he or she is picked off
As by a long Kentucky rifle!—
Tricked off
Like kidnapp'd niggers from me in a trice.'

KNUCK (+ 2), 1812-19 (1848). E. Partridge in *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (2d ed., 1938) quotes J. H. Vaux as using this word, without specifying whether in *Glossary of Cant* (1812) or *Memoirs* (1819).

PACKET, *n.* (+ c), 1846 (1851). J. R. Planché, *The Invisible Prince* (1846), III, 126 (coll. ed., 1879):
'Fierce whiskered gents as ever in pea jackets
Smoked bad cigars on board the penny packets.'

PEN, *n.* (+ 4. + c), 1755 (1904). *Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (1929 reprint of

1755 ed.), 175: 'A special Messenger to be ready in the Sessions-House with a large Quantity of Gold, to protect us from any threatening Danger. I had not been in the Pen five Minutes before I was call'd upon to receive a Letter of Comfort to myself and Friends.'

+ SALOON-KEEPER, 1849 (1873). *The Theatrical Mirror*, No. 3, 21 (10 Sept): 'The "Mirror" is supplied at most moderate prices to the Saloon Keepers, in order to enable them to sell it to advantage.' [Although covered by the *DAE* definition, 'One who keeps a saloon in which intoxicating liquors are sold and drunk,' the English saloon-keeper was the keeper of the 'saloon,' or as it would now be termed 'refreshment bar,' in a London theatre.]

SHELL, *v.* (+ 3), *to shell out*, 1801 (1833). Vide *OED*, *shell*, *v.* (7.a), 1801 quot.

+ SILVER KING (1), 1882 (1889). H. A. Jones and H. Herman, *The Silver King*, a drama in five acts, produced at Princess's Theatre, London, 16 Nov., Act IV, sc. i:
'*Baxter*: . . . Went to bed one night a common miner, and the next a millionaire.
Selwyn: I've heard so. They call him the Silver King.'

TIGHT, *a.* (+ 1), 1790 (1828). 6 Aug. in *Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (1932), I, 12: 'Parties were soon inflamed to a very tight battle, one of that kind which for distinction sake, is called royal.'

+ TWITTERATION, 1802 (1840). G. Colman, *X.Y.Z.* (produced 1802), 24: 'A female hand! Bless us! I'm all over in a twitteration!'

Words to which + should be added:

BRIDGE-JUMPER (1887). Never a phenomenon of English life.

FARCE-COMEDY (1887). The English nomenclature till almost fifteen years later was always 'farical comedy.'

PIMLICO ORDER (1843). There are

two Pimlicos in London, one part of Westminster in the West End, and the other part of Hoxton in the East End. Neither has at any time been renowned for 'precise order'—rather the reverse.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

A HUMANISTIC MISCELLANY

THE CELEBRATION of the sesquicentennial of the University of North Carolina inspired, among other things, a special issue of *Studies in Philology* (XLII, 3) made up of twenty-eight studies, each by a member of the graduate teaching staff. This issue has now been published in book form, as one of the Sesquicentennial Publications of the University.¹ Of the 28 studies, only three come within the scope of this journal: 'Changes of Emphasis in Linguistics, with Particular Reference to Paul and Bloomfield,' by George S. Lane; 'The Dialect of Up-State New York: A Study of Folk-Speech in Two Works of Marietta Holley,' by E. E. Ericson; and 'Reading and Understanding,' by H. R. Huse. The first of these may be described as a brief semi-popular essay on the rise of 'the descriptive method of language study' now in vogue, a method set forth in the second edition (1933) of L. Bloomfield's *Language*. The essay reads well, but Mr. Lane is wrong in speaking of current descriptive science as 'an entirely new branch of linguistics.' Description is, in fact, the old method, and in the great Hindu grammarian Panini it reached a height of achievement worthy of more recognition than it has had of Mr. Lane, who, besides, ignores such outstanding modern investigators as Vilhelm Thomsen and Ferdinand de Saussure. Even stranger, perhaps, is the failure to mention Charles Bally, of whom W. v. Wartburg said 'dass er, den grossen Gedanken seines Lehrers Ferdinand de Saussure in die Tat umsetzend, die synchronische Sprachwissenschaft eigentlich geschaffen hat.'²

Mr. Huse's contribution, even more than Mr. Lane's, is an essay rather than a study. The two authors do not always see eye to eye. Thus, Mr. Huse tells us, 'before anyone can read critically, . . . he should know something about the origin of language . . .' (pp. 331 f.), a kind of knowledge which Mr. Lane (pp. 96 f.) rightly regards as out of reach. The essay on 'Reading and Understanding' is, in effect, a plea for the kind of semantics taught by Korzybsky and his school. Mr. Huse goes so far as to say: 'The work of Korzybsky would probably rank as one of the great accomplishments of the century if only for its exposition of the process of abstracting and the dangers of abstractionism' (p. 336). He might at least have mentioned the nominalists of the Middle Ages, who, in my humble opinion, understood these matters even better than

1. *Studies in Language and Literature*. Edited by George R. Coffman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. viii, 344 pp.

2. In *Mélanges de Linguistique offerts à Charles Bally* (Geneva, 1939), p. 3.

they are understood today. But the dangers involved in the use of language, well known though they are, need to be called constantly to our attention, and Mr. Huse does well to present the matter once more.

Mr. Ericson, unlike his two colleagues, gives us the fruits of a detailed piece of investigation. He has gone through two works by Miss Holley: *Samantha at Saratoga* (1887) and *Samantha at the St Louis Exposition* (1904). The dialectal peculiarities (i.e. the deviations from standard American speech) which he found in these works make the subject matter of his paper. Unluckily limitations of space forced him to present his material in highly concentrated form, and the unwitting will not find Mr. Ericson a wholly safe guide. Thus, he uses the stylized arrowhead to mark mere correspondence, but since he nowhere explains this use of his, the ordinary reader will quite naturally but wrongly take it to mark change (as it normally does in scientific writing). Thus, the author gives us the following formulation:

$a = [\alpha] > [\text{æ}]$: *palm*, *psalm*, *psalmist* > *pamm*, *samm*, *sammist*. The uninformed, confronted with this, will surely infer that a sound-change $[\alpha > \text{æ}]$ took place; in fact, of course, the dialectal $[\text{pæm}]$ etc. show preservation of the 18th century vocalism, while the standard $[\text{pam}]$ etc. came into being by virtue of a sound-change $[\text{æ} > \alpha]$.

In sundry details the author falls into actual error. Thus, *idee* is not to be derived from *idea* but goes back to ME *idee* (taken from French), which has been kept in vulgar use, whereas standard speech has discarded the French word in favor of its Greek original, a process not infrequent in the history of English. Again, the *t* of *closter* is not epenthetic, *closter* is a perfectly normal comparative of *clost*, and it is this *clost* (for standard *close*) the *t* of which needs explanation. One wonders where the author got the idea that *own* in the sense of 'confess' is dialectal (p. 326). But these and other flaws need not disturb the informed reader, who can readily correct errors of interpretation and will be grateful to the author for providing so much material not hitherto available in collected and organized form.

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'PROPAGANDA, COMMUNICATION, AND PUBLIC OPINION'

THIS BOOK¹ contains as its chief feature an annotated list of about three thousand titles of books, periodicals, and articles on the sub-

1. *Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion. A Comprehensive Reference Guide*. By Bruce Lannes Smith, Harold D. Lasswell, and Ralph D. Casey. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. viii, 435 pp.

ject of propaganda, communication, and public opinion. These titles are classified under the following headings: (1) propaganda strategy and technique, (2) propaganda classified by the name of the promoting group, (3) propaganda classified by the response to be elicited, (4) the symbols and practices of which propaganda makes use or to which it adapts itself, (5) channels of communication, (6) measurement, and (7) control and censorship of communication. One hundred and fifty of the titles are starred to indicate that the works to which they refer are to be regarded as outstanding treatises in their field. Other titles are marked 'Pop.' to show that they refer to primary works on the art and science of popularization. Mr. Smith chose these latter titles for special emphasis, and in addition performed the major part of the task of selecting and annotating the others. Provided with these annotations and special markings, all users of this volume, specialist and layman alike, will find it an excellent guide to representative writings upon the three subjects that it concerns.

In 1935, Messrs. Lasswell, Casey, and Smith published at the University of Minnesota Press a similar guide, entitled *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography*, which listed about 4500 titles. That book and the present one do not overlap. Most of the titles in the present volume represent books and other writings published during the last ten years; the rest are older items overlooked when the previous list was compiled. Both lists are limited in principle, say the authors (p. v), 'to objective studies and analyses rather than examples of propaganda; but every effort has been made to include titles from every field in which conscious promotion is prominent, and from every scientific discipline which has contributed to its objectified analysis.'

In addition to the bibliographical section, the present volume contains four essays designed to discuss in sequence the four questions asked by the scientific student of communication. In their brief introduction to these essays, the authors formulate these questions as follows (p. 3): 'As developed in the past few years, the scientific study of communication centers around the four successive phases of any act of communication: In what channels do communications take place? Who communicates? What is communicated? Who is affected by the communication and how?' It is to the first of these questions that Mr. Casey addresses himself in the first essay. Mr. Smith provides an analysis of the second, and Mr. Lasswell, of the third and of the fourth.

As can be seen from these questions, the authors envisage a 'stream' of communications flowing from a 'source' to a 'destination' through 'channels.' The 'channels' are typified by the newspaper, the radio network, and the movies, to which Mr. Casey devotes himself. The 'source'

is typified by the master propagandists of our time, the heads of state and the propaganda ministers of the great powers, whom Mr. Smith analyzes in respect to the conditions which produce their skills. The 'destination' is of course the audience which receives communications and responds to them. Mr. Lasswell discusses the nature and the possibility of measurement of these responses. The 'stream' of communications, or the stream of objects to be described and understood, Mr. Lasswell also discusses, his basic notion being that these objects are networks of signs, that is to say, patterns of sonant or linear events that have the function of standing for or designating other events in space and time, as a spoken word stands for its referent. The process by which communications originate as subjective events in the mind of one man, and become sonant or linear events in a medium, and flow through channels to other men, and end by becoming in their consciousness subjective events of comprehension, enjoyment, action—this process requires for its complete description the study of man's individual personality, his social, political, and institutional personality, his languages, his sciences, his technologies, his arts. The four essays in the present volume cannot be said to exhaust this immense subject, and the authors do not even remotely imply that such is their purpose. The point is, however, that their efforts are pioneering ventures of great value, not only for what they represent in the way of research and insight, but also for what they involve in developing a public awareness of the science of communication and of its central position among the sciences of our time.

It is inevitable that a task as large as that attempted in this volume could not be performed to the complete satisfaction of all interested parties. The authors' distinction between language as propaganda and language as diplomacy, education, ceremony, and art (pp. 1-2) shows a tendency to oversimplify a complicated set of relationships, and to emphasize that a linguistic structure becomes propaganda when it is aimed at large masses and deals with controversial issues with an intent to influence attitudes. This description is not sufficiently precise to discourage confusions between propaganda, on the one hand, and art, education, and ceremony, on the other. Moreover, Mr. Lasswell's avowed desire 'to express relationships in terms of a whole universe that is held stable' (p. 90) is not completely realized in these essays. In some respects, the universe of communications, which he and his colleagues explore, is not held stable. The term 'symbol,' which occupies a key position in the science of communication, becomes a very unstable word as these authors use it. At one place (p. 1) it is a term for words and pictures, as distinguished from the referents of words and pictures. Again (p. 14) it is a term for

the generalized report upon events, as distinguished from the individualized report. At another place (p. 54) it is a term for the institutions which stand for a social actuality. Thus, a social actuality is the authority enforced by some upon others; and the institutions which stand for this particular actuality are the State, the Church, the Law, etc. In this sense, these institutions are 'authoritative symbols.' At still another place (pp. 82-83) a 'symbol' is a term for a subjective event induced in somebody's consciousness by a 'sign.' Thus, if we consider the sonant event which occurs when the word 'fire' is pronounced by a speaker, we call it a sign; and if we consider the subjective event which occurs in a listener's mind when he hears this word and assigns it to its referent, we call it a symbol. Even so casual a survey of the things to which the word 'symbol' refers in these four essays shows what an elusive term it is and how unstably it behaves. In addition to the two shortcomings that I have just mentioned, the present volume does not appear to be as inclusive as it might have been at one critical point. It does not feature the work done by literary critics, critics of art, students of linguistics, and students of rhetoric, in the communicative functions of discourse. In the last analysis, the science of communication must be written, not alone by social scientists, psychologists, and students of propaganda, but by a collaboration between them, on the one hand, and all other students of communication in all its additional varieties, on the other. It is because the present volume does not adequately suggest the benefits of such a collaboration that it remains somewhat incomplete at the point where it could have been strong.

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SOME NOTES ON ARMY LANGUAGE

The Editor, *American Speech*:

Although lacking in linguistic or philological training, when I entered the Army I was so struck by the difference between GI speech and that of the college community to which I was accustomed that I became interested in the subject of military slang and professional language. Upon my return I went through a file of *American Speech* and found therein several contributions on the subject,¹ plus entries in the 'Among the New Words' sections. Your having printed Mr. Brown's reaction to 'GI Officer,' which

1. 'Glossary of Army Slang,' *AS*, 16: 163-169; Douglas E. Watson, 'Remarks on "Glossary of Army Slang,"' *AS*, 17: 67-68; A. R. Dunlap, 'GI Lingo,' *AS*, 20: 147-148; Lillian H. Hornstein, 'More War Words,' *AS*, 20: 150-151; Robert Shafer, 'Air Force Slang,' *AS*, 20: 226-227; Joseph B. Costanzo, 'G.I. Italian,' *AS*, 20: 227-228; Morroe Berger, 'Army Language,' *AS*, 20: 258-264; William White, 'GI Words from the Separation Center and Proctology Ward,' *AS*, 21: 153-154; Jack R. Brown, '"GI Officer,"' *AS*, 21: 158.

was the same as mine, encourages me to offer some comments based on my experiences.

In the 'Glossary of Army Slang,' *special duty* is defined as 'soldiers used for special jobs; clerks, typists, etc.' (16: 169). The term does not apply to clerks and typists if that is their assigned duty; it means the employment of a soldier for work which is not his regular duty, or in an organization other than that to which he is assigned. Thus, a headquarters may have 'on special duty' clerks who are (a) riflemen or drivers, etc., or (b) clerks from another unit.

With regard to the word *chicken* in Mr. Dunlap's article (20:147), no commentator seems to have pointed out that this word had different meanings at different times in the Army. When I first heard it, in the fall of 1941, it was used to mean underhanded, thoughtless, inconsiderate, and so forth; one might even apply it to himself, as, 'I wouldn't be so chicken-shit as to go for seconds before all the guys have had firsts.' The meaning at that time was almost exactly that given for *chicken* in Mr. Eikel's vocabulary of Aggie slang (21:31); also, the term was always said in full. The use of *chicken-shit* seemed to taper off, and when it came back into frequent use in Europe in late 1944 or early 1945, it had the usually described meaning of unnecessarily military, petty, and so on (see Berger, 20:261).

Of other words in Dunlap's list, I would like to add that *commando* could be combined with almost any word designating a man's duties or propensities, and he does not list the only form in which I ever heard it commonly used—*typewriter commando* (which is what I was). Further, *ninety day wonder* applied more to OCS graduates than to those commissioned direct from civilian life, and *sparks* is much more a Navy than an Army term, being, in my estimation, almost unknown in the Army. *Comm Z*, given in the same issue (20:150), was more commonly spelled *Com Z*.

To Mr. Shafer's contribution (20: 226-227) I would like to add that *File 13* was also called *The Thousand Year File*, and that in my experience *visiting firemen* might mean any visitors, and not necessarily generals. In regard to Major Costanzo's comment on the use of *vino*, even in French-speaking countries (20: 228): I noticed this in French Morocco in November, 1942, and attributed it to the fact that my unit, the 3rd Infantry Division, was heavily salted with West Coast men, and further had been stationed in the 'Tortilla Flat' country, where *vino* was of course a common word. I would like to disagree with the Major on one point, for I feel that instead of using *señorita* for Italian girls, the bulk of the men did modify the final syllable to *-ina*; and, since most of them did not

pronounce the Spanish form correctly (using *señorita* for *señorita*), the end result was a fair approximation of the correct Italian.

Mr. Berger's contribution—could we call it a “morroeberger” of Army language?—brings up several questions of interpretation on which my ideas vary somewhat. He defines ‘to pull rank’ as ‘to use one’s superior grade to force an inferior into obedience’ (20: 261), but if the unit is operating on a military basis, superior grade brings obedience without force; pulling rank comes when superior grade is used to obtain unfair advantage, extra service, finality of argument, etc. Of course, such things are often legally due rank, but there are times when to insist on them seems out of place and uncalled-for, in which case it is ‘pulling rank.’

‘Soldiers,’ says Berger, ‘do not use the softer terms in the barracks or in the field,’ which is generally true, but there are at least two good cases in which the euphemistical shorter form almost entirely ousted the vulgar form: *chicken* and *the GIs*. He also speaks of the individualist who ‘persists in saying *breakfast* instead of *morning chow*.’ When I joined my first outfit it was still about fifty percent Regular Army men, and I can’t recall ever having heard *morning chow* used; if the context made it clear which meal was meant, it was *chow*—if not, *breakfast*. And finally, that the term *GI* ‘is used more often by officers than by enlisted men’ (20: 263) was true when it first came into use, but was certainly not true by the end of the war.

Mr. White speculates on how the appearance of the discharge emblem caused it to be called a *ruptured duck* (21:153), but I am sure that this is a case of a pre-existing term being given a new application, since there had been the expression ‘to take off like a ruptured duck,’ and I think I recall photographs of a bomber named *The Ruptured Duck*.

In regard to the French abbreviation ‘FFI’ (21: 141), it might be of interest that I once heard it used as a verb in conversation. Someone asked a lieutenant if the Frenchwoman with whom he was going were married, to which he replied, ‘She did have a husband, but he FFI’d once too often, and the Germans shot him.’

Although this has already become rather long, I would like to offer one or two items of my own. One is that nobody seems to have drawn attention to the influence of the telecommunications alphabet.² In addition to being the source of the Air Corps’ *Roger*, this alphabet contributed several minor usages. In our headquarters we often spoke of the General Staff officers as *George One*, *George Two*, etc., and of the Adjutant Gen-

2. Called the ‘phonetic’ alphabet in official language. The terms used are: *Able, Baker, Charlie, Dog, Easy, Fox, George, How, Item, Jig, King, Love, Mike, Nan, Oboe, Peter, Queen, Roger, Sugar, Tare, Uncle, Victor, William, X-ray, Yoke, Zebra*.

eral as *Able George*. Logically, Americans should have used the form *able-able* for anti-aircraft instead of picking up the British form *ack-ack*.

The 3rd Division was originally under the North African Theater of Operations, and we always called it, from the official abbreviation, *natoosa*; when we had occasion to refer to the European Theater, we called it *ētoosa*. However, when we came into actual contact with the latter headquarters, we found that its denizens pronounced it *ētowza*, and referred to our original headquarters as *natowza*. For a long time after we passed under the new theater, it was possible, by this criterion, to tell if a stranger had come into France from the Mediterranean or from England.

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MR. MENCKEN AND ARMY LANGUAGE

The Editor, *American Speech*:

In *The American Language: Supplement I* (New York, 1945), Mr. H. L. Mencken, laying about with all his customary energy, finds occasion (pp. 412-18) to attack what he calls 'the new official style.' With most of Mr. Mencken's comments on official misuse of the language I am in complete accord, but in one important particular I feel that a correction must be made, if only for the sake of justice and to keep the record straight for historians of the language. When Mr. Mencken ascribes the use of jargon in the Army to the recent 'entrance of large numbers of officers from civil life,' he is going out of his way to traduce an already much-maligned group of individuals. Reserve, National Guard, and up-from-the-ranks officers have endured slurs enough from the Regulars; let us not now indict them for the creation of Armyese.

According to Mr. Mencken, 'The Army, in the days before World War II, was largely staffed by West Pointers and they used the plain and excellent American taught at that great seminary, but the entrance of large numbers of officers from civil life has brought a taste and a talent for jargon.'¹ He then quotes (p. 416) a 'monstrosity' of language which, he says, by the end of 1943 appeared in a 'field manual for quartermasters.' As a matter of fact, in 1943 only two quartermaster field manuals were in print, and the offending sentences do not appear in either; furthermore, the 'translation' which Mr. Mencken gives is not accurate.² These are

1. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: Supplement I* (New York, 1945), pp. 415-416.

2. The quotation is as follows: 'Proper application of prescribed preventative maintenance measures must be a prime consideration in order to minimize replacements.

only minor slips, however, and the explanation for them may lie in one of a number of possibilities. Perhaps the sentences are in a quartermaster technical manual (though I have searched the likely ones in vain);³ perhaps they are in a field or technical manual of another service; perhaps they were in a preliminary draft of a manual but never saw print. The point is of little moment in itself, but it is unfortunate that Mr. Mencken was not at greater pains to be accurate when he intended using the quotation in question as a club for belaboring 'large numbers of officers from civil life.'

Curiously enough, the Army itself does not share Mr. Mencken's somewhat naïve belief that the pre-Selective-Service officer wrote only 'plain and excellent American.' On the contrary, those with the closest knowledge of military publications have been perfectly willing to admit that there was room for improvement. Early in 1944, for example, we find the following in an official statement concerning the preparation of training publications:

Vocabulary should be carefully selected. Through many years of writing and discussion by the relatively small, closely-knit groups of the Regular Army, there has developed a vernacular of the profession, often hazily understood by personnel who lack extensive military background. By and large, therefore, the presentation of material in field and technical manuals . . . is made more effective by the abandonment, so far as possible, of professional vernacular, and by the more generous use of well-selected illustrative examples. Words used should be perfectly clear and understandable.⁴

There is nothing here, it is interesting to note, about the plain and excellent American of the Regular Army having been corrupted by 'large numbers of officers from civil life.'

Again, *The Infantry Journal* is the source of some pertinent comments on the recent influences at work on Army publications. In the issue of February, 1944, Colonel Joseph I. Greene, editor of the *Journal* and an officer of the Regular Army, wrote as follows (pp. 73-74) in a review of the *Quartermaster Handbook: Methods of Teaching*:

Vehicle equipment of tactical organizations and that of administrative units and reserve pools should be interchangeable wherever possible in order that needed replacements for forward areas be secured by interorganization transfers to meet emergencies in which normal channels of supply would introduce delays.' The 'translation,' which Mr. Mencken received from the officer who sent him the quotation, is as follows: 'Replacements must be kept at a low level by a rigid system of truck servicing. When emergencies cut off the normal flow of supplies, all trucks in the unit, plus those in reserve pools, should be pressed into service by making transfers within the organization.' Without wishing to defend the original rhapsody, I think it worth pointing out that the translation is far from accurate, as a careful reading of both versions will easily reveal.

3. In brief, a field manual tells 'what to do'; a technical manual tells 'how to do it.'

4. Army Service Forces Circular No. 62, 1 March 1944.

This handbook and a recent series of Quartermaster Technical Manuals prepared in the same form, represent almost a revolution in the preparation of official manuals. . . .

I have been for many years one of those who maintained that printed aids to military training should have the advantage, first, of the clearest and most forceful writing obtainable, and second, of the most adequate methods of modern physical presentation. . . . Accordingly, these manuals appear to me to be a tremendous stride in the right direction. They are a great improvement in every respect over the usual type of manual. . . .

The writing in these manuals is generally excellent, with the customary stiffness of such writing retained at only a few points. The text drives each point home in plain, direct language.

Finally, Colonel Greene, noting a few lapses into 'teaching jargon of the academic type,' remarks, 'There is no need to dig out such technical jargon from another field and add it to our already plentiful military supply. But there is only a touch of this stuff; for the most part the writing is what it should be.'

It does not seem, then, that Colonel Greene, a recognized authority on Army writing, agrees with Mr. Mencken in the latter's blanket and uncritical approval of earlier military publications. Rather, it is worth repeating, he declares that 'improvement' amounting to 'almost a revolution' has come about and that 'customary stiffness' has been replaced by 'generally excellent' writing.

Many officers of the Regular Army, like Colonel Greene himself, do of course write the 'plain and excellent American' that Mr. Mencken admires. But was such writing common in the Army? Let us examine a few samples of pre-civilian writing, taken at random from Army Regulations:

When, under paragraph 18a, the purchase of component articles of the ration is made in commercial markets from organization mess funds in quantities which (together with those purchased from the sales officer) do not exceed the ration allowance, but the total cost of which exceeds the cost of the component articles of the ration at the prices used in figuring the ration and savings account, the organization fund will be reimbursed for the excess cost, upon claims submitted by organization commanders and approved by the commanding officer, to the sales officer at the station from which the troops were rationed, in the following form, payment to be made on a supplemental ration and savings account by the disbursing officer designated to make payments for that station. . . .⁵

. . . corrosion of metal parts is accelerated. To obviate deterioration of such parts . . .⁶

Vouchers (if for supplies or nonpersonal services) will show the payee's account number, and/or the number and date of the contract or purchase order, date of delivery or rendition of services, description of the supplies or services, and/or the

5. Army Regulations 30-2210, March 15, 1940, par. 25.

6. Army Regulations 30-1055, January 15, 1926, par. 1g.

quantity and unit price of each article, unless the invoice showing these data is attached (see par. 2c), and the amount, and, if shipped on Government bill of lading, the points of origin and destination, weight of the shipment, and bill of lading number.⁷

I submit that such linguistic upside-down cake from the Regulars, plus the evidence previously introduced, does now and forever exonerate 'officers from civilian life' from any charge of introducing Mr. Mencken's 'new official style' to Army publications. It would be useless to deny, of course, that much of Army writing still does violence to the language. Such charming locutions as 'delinquent knives'⁸ and 'frustrated freight'⁹ are only two of dozens which might be recorded to indicate that all is not yet well. But these take their place with great ease alongside such time-honored examples of Armyese as 'reference is made,' 'echelon of command,' 'the tactical situation,' and 'meal tickets will be accomplished.' Verily—Mr. Mencken notwithstanding—jargon, professional vernacular, and writing which is only 'hazily understood' are no new developments in the Army.

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7. Army Regulations 35-1040, May 13, 1942, par. 1b.

8. Knives not delivered on schedule.

9. Freight which has been prevented from reaching its destination.

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A study of John Baret's dictionary, the first edition of which appeared in 1573.
- Spink, J. S. The teaching of French pronunciation in England in the eighteenth century, with particular reference to the diphthong *oi*. *Mod. Lang. Review*, 41: 155-163. Apr. 1946.
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A list of 'books and articles in the field of Germanic philology published in Europe, especially in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries, during the war.' Titles in the field of English linguistics (some of which have already been listed in *Am. Sp.*) are on pp. 286-289.

Watson, J. W., Jr. Northumbrian Old

English *ēo* and *ēa*. *Language*, 22: 19-26. Jan.-Mar. 1946.

Shows that certain isolated textual forms point to phonemic coalescence of these two diphthongs. Uses the evidence of modern dialects.

Wright, B. A. Note on Milton's use of the word 'danger.' *Rev. Eng. Studies*, 22: 225-226. July 1946.

The passage treated is *PL.* 2: 1008.

'YAM' AND ITS PROGENY

Several years ago in this journal (XII, 99) A. L. Hench pointed out that *jamboree* had yielded *yamboree*, the name of the East Texas festival honoring the sweet potato. Today we find analogy and advertising working in their usual close cooperation, this time with the sweet potato industry again. Its first national celebration was held on October 9-10, 1946, at Opelousas, Louisiana, and was attended by the governor of the state, an ex-governor, the bishop of Lafayette, other state and local dignitaries, and a New York columnist, among others. The event is of particular interest to students of language because of the way in which the tutelary deities of this starchy bacchanal concentrated upon the hitherto innocuous yam and made it produce the following offspring:¹

YAMLAND. The sweet potato country; specifically, the region around Opelousas (St. Landry Parish, Louisiana).

YAMBILEE. The national sweet potato frolic.

MR. YAM. King of the festival and its central character; his identity was concealed until the time of the Golden Yam dance, the event which officially ended the yambilee.

QUEEN YAMBA. Her coronation the opening event of the celebration; chosen from among thirty-nine candidates (famed more for their pulchritude than their yam-consuming powers).

YAMERELLA. The Yamland version of Cinderella.

PRINCE YAM. Her consort.

YAMETTES. Mr. Yam's attendants and ushers throughout the festival; they wore blue jeans, yellow shirts, and large sun hats.

YAMATORIUM. The building housing the sweet potato exhibit.

YAM-B-CUE. The free serving of baked sweet potatoes.

One may rejoice or grieve to learn that the Golden Yam Ball was not described as a yam session, though it should be noted that its principal feature was a yitterbug contest.

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1. Information derived from the Opelousas *Clarion-Times*, October 10, 1946, and the Baton Rouge *State-Times*, October 9 and 10, 1946.

AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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THE PRELIMINARY remarks in this issue of 'Among the New Words' will be restricted to comments on two of the entries in the glossary.

The recognition of *bamboo* as a combining form meaning 'native' I owe entirely to information supplied me by my colleague, Professor George Pope Shannon, who resided in Manila in 1919-1920 and again in 1926-1929. He is well acquainted with the terms *bamboo American* and *bamboo English* from his days in Manila. To the combinations in the glossary he is able to add two others. He has heard the term *bamboo ferry* applied (in contrast with the Navy ferry) to a civilian ferry which carried natives, produce, etc., from Manila to Cavite. A *bamboo railroad* is a native-run, native-operated railroad running through rural districts. It implies a jerk-water line, like the one running from Manila to Cavite. Two other combinations, not known to Professor Shannon but listed in Berrey and Van den Bark's *American Thesaurus of Slang*, seem to belong here. A *bamboo fleet* is 'a fleet assigned to Philippine waters' and *bamboo government* refers to the 'Philippine civil government.' The following citation, supplied by Miss Mamie J. Meredith, possibly should have been included under *bamboo* in the glossary: 'We get used to Tiger Brand Whiskey which is a cross between sorghum, kerosene, cylinder oil and turpentine! We call it "Bamboo Juice" and one drink will put you in never-never land' (letter to *News and Views*, July 1945, p. 30).

It will be observed that the *OED* Sup. has a 1923 citation of *mass-produced* as an adjective. The quotation (*Daily Mail*, 22 Jan. p. 5) is as follows: 'All cars made in the United States are not necessarily mass-produced.' Even with the test of Professor Fries (*American English Grammar*, p. 189) before me, I find it difficult to determine whether we are dealing here with an adjective or a passive verb. Perhaps the evidence in the glossary of unmistakable verb uses may suggest that even as early as 1923 the verb form was in existence.

PLEASE COMMENT. Earlier dates are requested for the following. 4F (1944), *Jaycee* (1940), *Sad Sack* (1943), *U-Drive*, n. & adj. (1938).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. For citations, to the American Dialect Society and to members of its Committee on New Words as follows: Henry Alexander (3), Clarence L. Barnhart (2), Atcheson L. Hench (2), Mamie J. Meredith (10), Harold Wentworth (1), and Peter Tamony (1); also Dwight L. Bolinger (2) and Joseph Prescott (1). Thanks are due the University of Alabama Research Committee for secretarial aid.

The abbreviation 'BN' is used for the Birmingham (Ala.) *News* and 'TN' for the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *News*.

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

+AIRBRASIVE, *n. & adj.* [*air* + *abrasive*]. See quot.—1945 *TN* 1 Aug. p. 6/1 (UP) It was developed by a Texas dentist, Dr. Robert B. Black, Corpus Christi, who said in his report that his method, named 'airbrasive,' employs for its action a very fine, almost pinpoint, stream of compressed air into which a suitable finely divided abrasive agent has been introduced.' [*sic*] *Time* 6 Aug. pp. 75-6 Dr. Black's new method, which he calls 'airbrasive,' is something like sandblasting, *i.e.*, he wears hard surfaces away with an abrasive propelled by fast-moving air. *Sci. N. Letter* 11 Aug. p. 87 'Airbrasive' is the name . . . coined for the new instrument. It operates somewhat on the principle of a sandblast. . . Instead of sand, aluminum oxide is used as the abrasive. 1946 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 29 June p. 21/2.

+AMVETS. See quot. 1946 *Harper's*.—1944 *TN* 11 Dec. p. 1/8 (UP) The organization, which will be known as 'Amvets,' was founded yesterday. . . 1945 *Omaha World-Her.* 30 Dec. p. 2-A/5 Amvets Get License for Downtown Club. 1946 *Harper's Mag.* Sept. p. 251/1 These are the American Veterans of World War II (familarly known as Amvets). . .

+ATOM, ATOMIC BOMBING, *n. & adj.*—1945 *TN* 9 Aug. p. 1/6 (AP) Although the second atomic bombing was carried out on the same day Russia declared war, there was no indication these two great blows were planned to coincide. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* General Spaatz' U. S. Army Strategic Air Force headquarters said Nagasaki . . . was even more vulnerable to an atom bombing. 1946 *Collier's* 11 May p. 69/3 Vulnerability of surface craft to atomic bombing does not necessarily mean that they have become obsolete. *Sat. Eve. Post* 8 June p. 18/1 Air crews of the 509th were training for atom bombing

without knowing there was an atom bomb. *BN* 25 June p. 2/2 (AP) Shortly after daylight on July 1 . . . the atomic-bombing B-29 of Maj. . . Swancutt will lead the sky train from Kwajalein to Bikini. . .

BAMBOO. Combining form meaning 'native,' 'pertaining to natives.' *Colloq. or Dial. Pacific Area*.—BAMBOO AMERICAN. 1940 *Life* 28 Oct. p. 99/1 *Squacks* are the native girls of the Pacific sometimes taken to mistress by sailors who assume the title of *Shackmaster*, and become *Bamboo Americans*. BAMBOO ENGLISH. 1942 Berrey and Van den Bark *American Thesaurus of Slang* ¶181.5 . . . bamboo English, *broken English spoken in the Philippine Islands*. . . BAMBOO TELEGRAPH, WIRELESS. 1945 *Read. Dig.* Mar. p. 107/1 The bamboo telegraph carried the news of this event all over the island. . . Ira Wolfert *American Guerrilla in the Philippines* (N. Y.: Simon, Schuster) p. 104 Bamboo telegraph usually brought word to one American of the existence of another. *Chr. Sci. Mon. Week. Mag.* 2 June p. 17/1 Just as the McKinleys were about to complete their surrender the bamboo telegraph brought them a message from Filipino friends. *Sat. Eve. Post* 3 Nov. p. 107/2 In addition to runners, warnings came by bamboo wireless. News seemed to travel by itself, jumping the space between barrios as if by magic.

+COOK WITH GAS (ELECTRICITY, RADAR). *Slang*. See quot. 1943 *Am. Sp.*—1941 *Kansas City Star* 23 Feb. Now you're cooking with electricity! 1942 *Time* 27 Apr. p. 84/3 Many a student of U. S. patent law and practice figured that, at that point, Thurman Arnold was cooking with gas. 1943 *Am. Sp.* Apr. p. 154/1-2 *Now you're cooking with gas. 'Now you're getting somewhere.'* *Sat. Eve. Post* 20 Nov. p. 12/3 The little yellow lights in

the cockpit indicating 'bombs away' flashed, the interphone came to life and a moment after Gardner and Mitchell spoke, Jim Moberly remarked, 'We're sure cookin' with gas today, Dry.' 1946 *Time* 20 May p. 6/2 Now you are cooking with gas. Frederic Wakeman *The Hucksters* (N. Y.: Rinehart & Co.) p. 209 Vic said, 'Good boy, Georgie. Now you're cooking with radar.'

DE-, DENAZIFY. To eradicate Nazi doctrines and adherents.—1944 *BN* 8 May p. 1/6 (AP) The Army added that it was carrying on an educational program designed to 'de-Nazify' the prisoners by giving them a chance to see for themselves the advantages of democracy. Lond. *Spect.* 28 July p. 72/2 . . . whenever the problem of . . . de-Nazifying the young Nazis, [sic] is being seriously approached, some encounter or incident turns up to make the hopelessness of the situation inescapable. 1945 *TN* 20 June p. 6/1 (UP) 'Denazify the country,' he said, 'but leave Germany her skilled laborers to work for the good of all nations under Allied guidance.' 1946 *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 16 June p. 1/6 (editorial sec.) . . . some may recall that at the Crimean and Potsdam conferences the principal Allies agreed to denazify Germany.

FIRE-, FIRE BOMB. An incendiary bomb. (Also attrib.)—1941 *Read. Dig.* Mar. p. 6 By cable to the Reader's Digest comes this vivid firsthand account of the experiences of an American reporter on the night that fire-bombs rained on the ancient city of London. 1942 *House Beautiful* Sept. p. 84; cited *Read. Guide* 13: 223/1 Latest facts about fire bomb protection. 1944 *BN* 10 Oct. p. 1/7 (AP) The British heavy bombers made a saturation attack on Bochum . . . , dumping thousands of fire bombs. . . 1946 *Sat. Eve. Post.* 8 June p. 135/1 Veteran fliers who'd been commuting from Tinian to Japan with fire bombs asked loudly, 'Why all the secrecy?'

+INCENTIVE PAY. See *quots.* (Also attrib.)—1943 *Read. Dig.* Aug. p. 11/1 Mr. Charles E. Wilson . . . is urging war industries to adopt 'incentive pay'—that is, to pay workers more if they *produce* more. *Fortune* Nov. p. 141 In the latter, labor

finds the speed-up worse than ever, and a constant effort to introduce piecework rates, renamed 'incentive pay.' 1944 *Time* 14 Feb. p. 12 Incentive Pay. In Los Angeles a restaurant hung a sign in its window: 'Waitress Wanted: Good Wages—Free Meals—Free Bobby Pins!' 1945 *TN* 22 Aug. p. 1/4 (UP) The Bureau of Internal Revenue today modified its salary stabilization rules to permit . . . incentive pay and other types of compensation. 1946 *Life* 16 Sept. p. 73/1-2 Studebaker is only auto manufacturer with incentive pay system, making its workers highest paid in auto industry.

ISLAND. See *Am. Sp.* 21: 142/2. Add earlier illust.—1941 *Life* 31 Mar. p. 60/1 The 'Island' is the superstructure.

MASS-PRODUCE. 'mass-produced, *adj.*' 1934 (NID). [1923]—*v. t. & i.*—1940 *Life* 9 Dec. p. 84/2 U. S. Now Mass Produces. 1944 *Time* 26 June p. 104/3 But commercial manufacturers expropriated the designs of the Guild's hand-tooled products, mass-produced them cheaply. *Sat. Eve. Post* 21 Oct. p. 15/1 In response to Government requests, they bagged powder, they mass-produced 3-inch anti-tank cannon, mass-produced tank tracks, mass-produced subassemblies for Martin bombers and finally mass-produced complete airplanes. . . 1946 *This Week* 10 Mar. p. 5/1 This and similar work set Russia to mass-producing ACS. . .

MOLOTOV BREADBASKET. See *Am. Sp.* 18: 303/2. Add earlier illust.—1940 *Illust. Lond. News* 6 Apr. p. 446 The 'Molotov Breadbasket' . . . appeared to consist of two types.

NEPTUNIUM. See *quots.*—1911 *Century Dict. and Cycl.* neptunium . . . a supposed new element announced by Hermann in 1877 as present in columbite and ferro-ilmenite. Its existence has not been confirmed. 1945 Warren (Ohio) *Tribune Chronicle* 12 Aug. p. 1/4-5 (AP) The race brought discovery of two new elements, neptunium, No. 93, and plutonium. . . *Sci. N. Letter* 18 Aug. p. 103/3 Borrowing the names of the planets in our solar system, the new elements were named Neptunium (symbol Np) and Plutonium (symbol Pu). *Life* 20 Aug. p. 106 The

investigators called it 'neptunium,' from the fact that it is beyond uranium—the heaviest natural element—in the table of the elements just as Neptune lies beyond Uranus in the solar system. 1946 *Brit. Book of the Year* p. 82/2 One important result of these studies was the discovery that with neutrons of certain speeds U-238 exhibited a high probability for neutron capture, becoming an unstable isotope, U-239, which by emitting a beta particle became a new element, No. 93, to which the name of 'Neptunium' was given. But this was also unstable and by emitting another electron became No. 94, named 'Plutonium.'

PEDAL PUSHER(S). 'A bicycle rider, especially in a race; a bicyclist; a bicyclist.' 1934 (Weseen *Dictionary of Amer. Slang*). + See quotes.—1944 *Life* 28 Aug. p. 65/2 When college girls took to riding bicycles in slacks, they first rolled up one trouser leg, then rolled up both. This whimsey has now produced a trim variety of long shorts, called 'pedal pushers.' 1945 *Liberty* 1 Sept. p. 68 Miss McCordell . . . borrowed little-boy pants for 'pedal pushers,' the knee-length shorts . . . and started a new campus fashion. 1946 *Sears, Roebuck Catalogue* Fall and Winter 1946-7 p. 207B/1 Checked Pedal Pusher . . . the smart below-the-knee pants for cycling and all sorts of high-jinks and fun.

PLUTONIUM. See quotes.; also those under *neptunium*. (Also attrib.)—1945 *Life* 20 Aug. p. 106/2 But neptunium also is radioactive and in turn changes to 'plutonium'—Pluto being beyond Neptune. 1946 N. Y. *Times* 31 Mar. p. E11 When very small amounts of U-235 or plutonium are used . . . there is no necessity to denature them. *Sat. Eve. Post.* 29 June p. 20/1 Atomic armchair strategists are inclined to count out the Ground Forces in this new age of plutonium pulverization. . .

PORTAL-TO-PORTAL PAY. See quotes.—1943 *Time* 25 Oct. p. 21/3 He emerged with proposed Contract No. 3; an intricate formula which cagily skirts any mention of increased hourly wages or 'portal-to-portal' pay. 1944 *BN* 27 Mar. p.

1/5 The Supreme Court ruled Monday that underground iron ore miners are entitled to 'portal-to-portal' pay for the time spent traveling between the mouth of the mine and the place where the ore is actually mined. 1945 *Mueller Clipper* June p. 2 Additional compensation is taking various forms—time differentials, . . . portal-to-portal pay . . . 1946 *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 15 Sept. p. 5A/4 The attorneys represented miners who recovered \$557,488.25 in portal-to-portal pay, representing the time they traveled to and from the mouth of a mine.

POSTWAR. '. . . *adj.* After the war, esp. the World War.' 1934 (NID). [1908] —n.—1944 *Arch. Rec.* Dec. p. 69/1 Expandable Prefab House for Postwar. 1945 *TN* 8 May p. 4/3 (UP) Railroads Make Lavish Plans For Postwar. *Time* 24 Sept. p. 15/2 'Management-labor unity . . . must be continued in the postwar.' 1946 *Chr. Sci. Mon. Week. Mag.* 25 May p. 2 Farmer in the Postwar.

RE-, REDEPLOY, *v. t. & i.* To reorganize the war machine; move men and materials to a different theater of war, *specif.* from the European to the Pacific Theaters in World War II after the collapse of Germany.—1945 Lond. *Sunday Times* 27 May p. 7 Re-deploying to crush Japan. *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 16 June p. 12/1 Others stated that the plan to redeploy troops from Europe was a great mistake. . . *Time* 16 July p. 42/2 Some were waiting to be re-deployed to the Pacific.

RE-, REDEPLOYMENT, *n. & adj.*—1945 *Time* 12 Feb. p. 17/2 The new blueprint for U. S. re-deployment calls for an army of 6,500,000 men to defeat Japan. *Newsweek* 28 May p. 28/3 In the redeployment of three and four star generals from the European theater, the best estimates are: . . . N. Y. *Times* 24 June p. 10 Re-deployment traffic moves west. 1946 *Life* 19 Aug. p. 116/2 Fraulein strolls by ogling GIs from Marburg redeployment center.

SCHNORCHEL, -KEL, -KLE. Also SNORT(S). See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Richmond News Leader* 11 Dec. p. 1/4 Meanwhile it is a matter of official knowledge that Germans have developed

a submarine equipped with radical new devices for underwater breathing and it is possible that some of the craft may even now be at sea. Known as the Schnorkel spirall submarine the new vessel has been dubbed the 'snorts' by the British. 1945 *Time* 19 Feb. p. 66/1-2 The Germans call it the Schnorkel (spiral); the British, the 'snort.' *Illust. Lond. News* 3 Mar. p. 229/2 The most recent move in this never-ceasing battle was the introduction, last year, of the 'Schnorkel' apparatus (described in 'The Illustrated London News' of December 23), enabling U-boats to remain submerged for several weeks at a time. *Chr. Sci. Mon. Week. Mag.* 15 Sept. p. 10/2 Of prime interest . . . was the 'schnorkle,' a device which permitted the submarines to 'breathe' while submerged at moderate depth, so named because in operation it sounded like a lusty snorer. 1946 *Collier's* 11 May p. 69/2 The other [part] the Germans called the 'Schnorchel.' That was a pipe or tube of about periscope height, that extended from the ventilating system of the engines to the surface and was fitted at the end with a valve that closed automatically when the sub submerged. *Newsweek* 13 May p. 31/3.

SHAMBLES. See *Am. Sp.* 16: 19-20. Add *Fig.*—1940 *Time* 8 Apr. p. 69 (cited *Am. Sp.*, loc. cit.). 1941 *Read. Dig.* Mar. p. 130/2 When the time came, the theory was, world shipping could thus be turned into a shambles at a signal. 1945 *TN* 15 Oct. p. 7/2 (AP) Pre-season predictions . . . have been blasted to a shambles. 1946 *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 8 Sept. p. 1/3 Clothing manufacturers have charged mill owners with cut-throat business practices that have made a shambles of distribution. . .

STARLET. See *Am. Sp.* 18: 65/2. Add earlier illust.—1940 *Life* 29 Jan. p. 37/3 Starlets Are World's Most Envied Of Girls.

TBS. See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Harper's Mag.* June p. 38/1 . . . it seemed this morning as if we were a part of a huge, grim square dance on the open seas . . . as the tired, imperturbable man aboard the carrier flagship called his

orders over the gravelly-voiced TBS (talk between ships). 1945 *Read. Dig.* May p. 111/1-2 . . . another scout pilot was also reporting, and the TBS (Talk Between Ships) phone announced: . . . 1946 *Sat. Eve. Post* 26 Oct. p. 66/3 The astounded admiral grabbed the TBS radio and shouted, 'What ship is that under way?'

TEEN-AGER. See *Am. Sp.* 20: 146. Add earlier illust.—1941 *Read. Dig.* Apr. p. 72/1 'I never knew teen-agers could be so serious.'

1080. [So called because the 1080th substance tested in a search for a rat poison was found to be effective.] See quotes.—1945 *Time* 17 Sept. p. 68/2 But '1080,' a chemical known as sodium fluoroacetate, fools the cagiest rat. . . And a pinpoint of it kills a half-pound rat. *Sci. N. Letter* 10 Nov. p. 297 Chemically, 1080 is sodium fluoroacetate; the number is simply a convenience designation. 1946 *BN* 12 Feb. p. 10/5 It was Ickes' men who developed the deadly new rat poison, 1080. . . A Polish chemist discovered 1080 while working on poison gas.

TERROR BOMBING. Bombing designed to hasten the end of a war by terrorizing the enemy population.—1941 *Read. Dig.* June p. 58/2 . . . it must be remembered that this government today is Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler and a few others—men who . . . ordered the terror bombing of Rotterdam last summer and of London last winter. 1945 *BN* 18 Feb. p. 1/3 (AP) The Allied air bosses have made the long-awaited decision to adopt deliberate terror bombing of the great German population centers as a ruthless expedient to hasten Hitler's doom. *Time* 26 Feb. p. 32/1 . . . terror bombing of German cities was deliberate military policy.

TEST-, TEST FLY, *v.t.* To test an airplane in actual flight.—1944 *Brit. Book of the Year* p. 31/2 It was known that machines were extensively test-flown both in England and in America. *Life* 19 June p. 11/2 Since your story has appeared the plane has been test flown and delivered to the Army. 1945 *Time* 5 Nov. p. 74/2 They had been test flown 'somewhere in the U. S.' *N. Y. Times* 18 Nov. sec. 1 p.

4/1; quoted *Am. Sp.* 21: 150/2. 1946 *Free World* Feb. p. 21 1st Lieut. William W. Skinner . . . was killed . . . while test-flying a P-47. *Collier's* 11 May p. 8/3.

2,4-D, 2,4-D, 2,4-Di(chlorophenoxyacetic acid). See quotes.—1945 *Time* 19 Feb. p. 67/1 It is a synthetic hormone, called 2,4-D by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, which helped develop it. *Science* 22 June pp. 642-4; cited *Read. Guide* 10 Oct. 1945 p. 133/2 Bacteriostatic and bactericidal properties of 2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid. *Du Pont Mag.* Aug. p. 5 Another still newer compound has not as yet been given a trade-mark name, and still bears its laboratory nick-name—2,4-D. *Sat. Eve. Post* 10 Nov. p. 17/3 It is a promise as exciting as the new insecticide, DDT, or the unexcelled weed killer, 2,4-D. 1946 *This Week* 17 Mar. p. 19/2 Besides being a weed-killer, what else will the new chemical called '2,4-Di' do? Hasten the ripening of bananas, apples and pears; kill ragweed which causes 90 per cent of the country's hay fever; make apples cling to the tree longer than usual.

UNDERGROUND, *adv.* '2. *fig.* In secrecy or concealment; in a hidden or obscure manner.' [1632].—*n.* 'The aggregate of suppressed political parties and factions forced into hiding but actively engaged in organizing for resistance to an autocratic regime.' 1945 (NID Sup.)—*adv.* See quotes.—1943 *Time* 8 Nov. p. 20/3 The Swedish newspaper *Ny Dag* said that extremist Nazis . . . are planning methodically to go underground, and are establishing secret radio stations, arms dumps, sabotage material. 1944 *TN* 30 Apr. p. 1/6 (AP) Himmler's Schutzstaffel . . . has elaborately detailed plans to go underground in the event of German defeat. . . 1945 *TN* 23 Aug. p. 7/2 (NEA) . . . au-

thorities fear the black market won't disappear, but will simply go underground. *Life* 19 Nov. p. 112/1 . . . he . . . went underground and got to Moscow. 1946 Warren (Ohio) *Tribune Chron.* 19 Aug. p. 17/2 (AP) The national KKK broke up or at least went underground in 1944. . .

WINGMAN. See *Am. Sp.* 21:145/2. Add earlier illust.—1943 *Sat. Eve. Post* 6 Nov. p. 86 I looked to both sides of us. Our two wing men were gone.

ZERO(ED) IN, *v. & ppa.* 'Zero, to: A marksman's term. To ascertain by experimental testing the peculiarities of a rifle at known ranges and set the sights to suit the marksman's individual idiosyncrasies in aiming. Zero being known, allowances for deflection, etc., at various ranges would be calculated readily.' 1925 (Fraser and Gibbons *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases*). See first 1945 quot.—1944 *News-week* 8 Jan. p. 45 . . . don't you know the Jerries have that road zeroed in?—a phrase meaning the Germans had sighted their guns on the road and needed only to pull their triggers. *Life* 14 Aug. p. 57/1 Germans who had retreated out of town 'zeroed in' mortar shells among troops and light tanks which tried to follow. . . 1945 B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 8 Apr. p. 9-A/2 (NANA) Kraut gunners saw him [observation plane] circling overhead, saw one ranging shot land long by 500 yards and then a second ranging shot fall 50 yards short. They knew they were zeroed in, and before the whole salvo hit them they spread white cloths on the ground. *Sat. Eve. Post* 7 July p. 57/2 'It'll be suicide,' Wes protested. 'They've got the place zeroed in.' 1946 *Time* 28 Jan. p. 24/2 German artillery, high in the hills, were zeroed in on the river banks.

MISCELLANY

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NEW LIGHT ON AFFIRMATIVE

'ANY MORE'

The use of *any more* in the sense of *now* has evoked comment in *American Speech* at intervals for the past fifteen years. Professor Kemp Malone first called attention to the occurrence in West Virginia of affirmative *any more*, a practice in violation of standard usage, which limits the locution to the negative.¹ Lately, Professor Robert J. Menner has cited an example from D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love*.² I propose to show that this expression is certainly old, that it occurs over a wider area than previously reported, and that *any more*, in this connection, is not always precisely synonymous with *now*.³

The fairly high incidence of *any more* in the mountains of eastern Kentucky has been known to me for twenty years, and more recently I have recorded examples on the colloquial level in Florida, Alabama, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, of which states the last named has already been mentioned as one of those affording specimens.⁴ That the usage is common in Kentucky

and West Virginia seems clear.

Any suggestion that affirmative *any more* owes its origin to Pennsylvania Dutch or Welsh settlers of Appalachian mining districts⁵ must be questioned, since the expression occurs in English as early as the sixteenth century. The twenty-fourth stanza of the *Hunting of the Cheviot* provides an excellent example:⁶

That day, that day, that dreadfull day!
the first fit here I fynde;
And youe wyll here *any mor* a the hount-
ynge a the Chyviat,⁷
yet ys ther mor behynde.

The highland folk of English-Scotch-Irish descent have generally employed the form *more* extensively than people of other regions.

The function of *any more* in affirmative sentences is three-fold: it points to a contrasting situation in the past, describes the present, and implies a continuance of the present state or habit into the indefinite future. Whatever else it may be, the locution is always durative. *Any more* is more closely approximated by *now and forever* than by *now* alone. An example from Birmingham, Alabama, illustrates the

1. *AS*, 6: 460.

2. *AS*, 21: 151.

3. *AS*, 7: 236.

4. *AS*, 21: 151. Other areas reported are Connecticut, Indiana, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska, South Carolina, and Ontario.

5. *AS*, 19: 39.

6. F. J. Child (ed.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882-98), III, 308.

7. My italics.

point: 'Yes, sir, we have shirts *any more*.' The speaker intended to convey the impression that, though the store had not ordinarily sold shirts in the past, such items were now on hand and would probably continue to be available. But, 'Yes, sir, we have shirts *now*,' describes the present situation and does not necessarily point to the future. 'I go to Tampa High School *any more*'⁸ predicts a continuation of the action, but 'I go to Tampa High School *now*' is susceptible to the interpretation that the practice is not expected to be permanent. However, *now*, for all practical purposes, is equivalent to *any more* in such specimens as 'Any more I'm happy' and 'It's getting to be that way *any more*.'⁹ The durative force of *any more* may be reinforced by *always* or *all the time*, as in an example from Kentucky, 'We *always* go to church in Mt. Sterling *any more*,' or in one from central New Jersey, 'I'm tired *all the time any more*.'

The interrogative affirmative with *any more* is certainly common: 'Do you go there *any more*?' Of course, such an expression as 'Will you go there *any more*?' could be interpreted as a reference to a limited number of occasions, but it might on the other hand indicate continuous practice.

The durative function of *now* is somewhat obscured by such common terminate constructions as 'go now,' 'hurry now,' 'now is the time,' 'just now,' and 'I now welcome

you'; but no such difficulty is likely to occur with *any more*. The association of *any more* with analogical forms like *any longer* and *any sooner*, which function logically only with negatives in declarative sentences, is probably responsible for the present standing of this useful locution.

ARTHUR K. MOORE

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THE ABSOLUTE NEGATIVE COMPARATIVE

It occurs to me that 'the rise of the incomplete comparative' in advertising (described by Esther K. Sheldon, *American Speech*, October, 1945) may have been accelerated by decisions of the Federal Trade Commission in recent years against the use of unsupported superlatives.

However that may be, this development seems limited to advertising jargon, while the general public has developed a passion for the absolute negative comparative. 'How are you?' draws the response, 'Not too good.' Plays are 'not too clean,' race horses run 'not too fast,' the world outlook is 'not too happy,' and statesmen are 'not too optimistic.' My lawyer writes, 'It is not too important that this mortgage be found.' And a college professor caused mirth recently by saying, 'I don't know Mrs. A. too well.'

In all such usages there is no comparison to be completed. The discussions do not really concern

8. Communicated by a resident of Tampa, Florida.

9. Recorded from speech of southwestern Pennsylvania.

too clean plays or too fast horses or over-optimistic statesmen. The exact force of the statement may be in the positive or the superlative degree. A man with a headache may call his condition 'not too good,' but a doctor may apply the same phrase to a dying patient. An aura of depreciation or stoicism usually accompanies this usage.

I have been conscious of such phrases in speech for some years, but now they are appearing increasingly in print. A New York *Times* foreign correspondent in 1945 reported an Allied flyer's dropping in occupied France 'not too far from a farmhouse.' Thomas W. Lamont in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (September 14, 1946) wrote, 'With the training I had had on the Exeter school paper, my way was not too difficult.'

W. L. WERNER

Pennsylvania State College

VERBS NEW AND OLD

BIRTH. 1945 *Business Week*, 29 Dec., p. 1 The plan for UNO was birthed at Dumbarton Oaks.

BY-LINE. 1946 Advertisement of the United Press in the *Editor & Publisher*, 12 Jan., p. 1 Most of them prefer the column which Fraley by-lines daily to extra-cost syndicated features of the same type.

CROTON. 1946 [Sign observed at Pier A, the Battery, New York City] The Crotoning of Tugboats at This Hydrant is Prohibited. (Sent in by Mr. Alexander Kadison, of New York, 4 Aug. Probably old, but not in the DAE.)

DEBULK. 1946 *Editor & Publisher*, 19 Oct., p. 37 By using Recordak Newspaper Service, . . . putting your files on microfilm, you can de-bulk them so thoroughly that they will take only 2% of their present space.

DEEMPHASIZE. 1946 *Congressional Record*, 14 March, p. 2272, col. 1 Request . . . deemphasize civilian luxuries.

DEWATER. 1945 Dr. William H. Davenport, of San Gabriel, Calif., reports, 25 Oct., that 'dewater' is used by construction engineers in the sense of to remove water from a tunnel.

EMOTE. 1946 Speech by the Hon. Claude E. Pepper, of Florida, at the graduation dinner of the School of Political Action Techniques, Washington, 29 June You may have Frank Sinatra croon for you and Greer Garson emote for you. (Recorded by Berrey and Van den Bark.)

ENTRUCK. 1945 General Jonathan M. Wainwright in various newspapers, 11 Nov. We entrucked at Muksaq at 10 P.M. on October 5, 1944.

EXAMPLE. 1945 Circular issued by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 6 Aug. This was exempld in the program worked in cooperation with UNRRA's Balkan Mission. (Sent in by Mr. W. H. Ferry, of New York, 2 Jan., 1946.)

GOOD. 1946 *William Feather Magazine* (Cleveland), Oct., p. 1 Did you ever live in a city where there were more do-gooders per acre than there were people to be gooded?

HOST. 1945 *Variety*, 31 Oct., p. 62 *Seventeen*, the mag., will host advertisers and their teen-age daughters in the Waldorf-Astoria Jade Room. 1946 Press-sheet of RKO Radio Pictures, Inc. William Zimmerman to be Hosted. William Zimmerman, RKO Radio sales executive, will be honored by his associates at a cocktail party on Thursday upon the occasion of his approaching marriage.

KAYO. 1946 *Palestine Post* (Jerusalem), 15 Aug., p. 2 Aug. 13 was an unlucky day for John Nilsson, the Swedish airman, as at Brighton that evening he was kayoed in the first round. (Evidence of the extension of the American language to the Holy Land.)

LOAN. 1938 Supplement to the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (Appendix). They will be loaned to college and university libraries.

MECCA. 1946 *Holiday*, May, p. 26 I

asked why Fredericksburg meccaed so many visitors. (Sent in by Mr. James Reid Parker, of Washington.)

NET. 1946 Mr. W. H. Ferry, of New York, reported 10 Jan., hearing, 'the other day,' the phrase 'It just nets down to this.'

OVERPROCESS. 1945 *Modern Beauty Shop*, Dec., p. 128 The hair was overprocessed. Overprocessing may have resulted from selection of an unsuitable solution.

PERCUSSION. 1946 *Washington Post*, 21 May, p. 10B Veteran Ken Reichard, familiar on local bandstands for a dozen years, is percussioning with Jack Corry at Glen Echo Park. (Sent in by Mr. Lester Hargreet, Washington.)

PERMANENT WAVE. 1945 *Modern Beauty Shop*, Dec., p. 128 Some hair which I permanent waved did not take the permanent.

PERMANIZE. 1945 Advertisement of Hengerer's in the *Buffalo Courier-Express*, 18 Oct. A lovely gift, in tune with holiday sentiment, is baby's first shoe permanized in bronze. . \$3.50.

PRICE OUT. 1946 *Your Investments*, Sept., p. 9 Many consumers were being priced right out of the market . . . by the accelerated rise in living costs.

PRIORITY. 1946 *Pittsburgh Courier*, 19 Oct., p. 6 We must reject Mr. Sheean's thesis that the solution of the so-called Negro problem be prioritized to the hands of white Southerners.

PROCESS. 1945 Supplement to *Language*, July-Sept., p. 7 The Boas Collection . . . is now . . . being processed and made available for the use of scholars. Washington dispatch in the *New York Times*, 20 Dec. Selective Service directors were instructed in a telegram 'not to process for induction or assignment any registrant who has one or more children.' 1946 Report of the New York Public Library for 1945, p. 77 Serials and documents were again processed in about the same numbers as in 1944. *Editor & Publisher*, 2 March Mr. Birdwell titled the ad: 'Where the Hell Are We Going?' After processing by the *Times* it came out 'Where Are We Going?' *Southern Food Processing*—title of a trade journal in New

Orleans, noted in the *Author & Journalist*, May, p. 22. Annual report of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ended 30 June, 1945, p. 41 Statistical statements on the year's production in . . . the Processing Department and on the status of work in process appear in Appendices II and III. *Ibid.*, p. 49 The Processing Committee was created July 8, 1943 . . . to advise the director of the Processing Department. *Councillor* (Baltimore), Sept. New commitment certificates processing through the Board of Mental Hygiene are necessary to accomplish readmission after discharge.

PROGRAM. 1946 *Editor & Publisher*, 11 May, p. 26 The Boettingers and Young said it is not their 'present intention to program toward the establishment of a new daily newspaper in Seattle.'

RECONCILE. 1945 *New York Daily Mirror*, 31 Oct., p. 5 If the couple wish to reconcile the court could be asked to vacate the limited divorce.

SCENARIZE. 1946 Press-sheet of RKO Radio Pictures, Inc. Geoffrey Homes is now at the RKO studios scenarizing his best seller, 'Build My Gallows High.'

SCRIPT. 1945 P. E. Cleator, of Wallasey, Cheshire, England, reported, 2 Nov., that he had heard *scripted* over the BBC radio 'about a fortnight' before. This may have been its first appearance in England.

SHACK UP. 1946 *Time*, 14 Oct. The medicine man was Orley Burnham, . . . who years ago had shacked up with a half-breed cook. (Sent in by Mr. George W. Thompson, of Detroit.)

SKINUVIATE. 1946 Speech at a meeting called by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation at Fresno, Calif., 30 July We farmers have always thought we owned our water, but by the time you get things skinuviated around maybe we'll find we were wrong. (Sent in by Mr. Charles L. Palmer, of Fresno, 1 Aug.)

SOFTENIZE. 1946 Advertisement of the California Fig Growers & Packers, Inc. (Fresno) Blue Ribbon Softenized Pulled Calimyrna Figs. (Sent in by Mr. William E. Bailey, of Washington, D.C., 27 Oct.)

STIMULATE. (Euphemism for the more familiar *dope*). 1945 Associated Press

dispatch from Baltimore, 19 Dec. The commission conducted hearings for five trainers after reporting that chemists had found six racers stimulated at Pimlico.

TAX-EXEMPT. 1946 *Detroit News*, 26 June Chile will tax-exempt new buildings.

WAITRESS. 1946 Mr. Alexander Kadi-son, of New York, 4 Aug. Not long ago I heard a waitress speak of having wait-ressed for six years.

H. L. MENCKEN

Baltimore, Maryland

SOME QUOTATIONS

SUPPLEMENTING THE 'DAE'

In the course of some recent read-
ing on the early history of the Erie
Canal, I collected the following
quotations which supplement the
evidence of the *DAE*. Most of the
words involved are canal terms, but
some words of more general con-
cern, such as *internal improvement*
and *water power*, are also included.
The two quotations for *portage*,
'the cost or price of carriage,' are
of interest, since the *OED*'s latest
example of this sense, except in his-
torical use, is from 1763. *Canal*
navigation, meaning simply 'canal,'
is, I think, worthy of record.

Americanisms are marked with a
plus sign, in the usual way. In most
cases the titles of the books cited
are longer than the quotations; I
have abbreviated them as much as
seemed compatible with clearness.

BIG DITCH. +1. The Erie Canal.
(*DAE*, 1835.) 1825 C. D. Colden, *Memoir*
Prepared . . . and Presented to the Mayor
of the City, at the Celebration of the
Completion of the New York Canals p. 50
But, notwithstanding, the encouragement
which this speech was calculated to afford,
and the eloquent appeal with which it
concluded, the project (for what was
called by its friends 'the great Canal,' and

by its opponents the 'big ditch,') met with
considerable, and very able opposition.

+CANAL COMMISSIONER. (*DAE*,
1838.) 1818 [C. G. Haines,] *Considerations*
on the Great Western Canal, from the
Hudson to Lake Erie (2d ed.) p. 15 Mr.
Weston, the celebrated Engineer, well ob-
served in a letter to the Canal Commis-
sioners some years ago. . . 1825 Colden,
Memoir p. 56 The Report of the Canal
commissioners was equally satisfactory.

+CANAL NAVIGATION. A canal or
other artificial waterway. (Not in *DAE*,
but see *OED*, s.v. *Navigation*, 7.b.) 1812
Report of the Commissioners, Appointed
by an Act of the Legislature of the State
of New York, Entitled 'An Act to Provide
for the Improvement of the Internal
Navigation of the State' p. 5 The Legis-
lature of Connecticut . . . resolved, that it
was inexpedient to take any measures on
the application of the commissioners ap-
pointed by the state of New-York for
opening a communication by means of a
canal navigation 'between the great lakes
and Hudson's river. 1816 [Anon.,] *A*
Serious Appeal to the Wisdom and Patri-
otism of the Legislature of the State of New
York p. 4 Let us suppose a canal naviga-
tion now perfected between Lake Erie
and the Hudson; what would be the con-
sequences?

+ERIE CANAL. (*DAE*, 1823.) 1817 *Re-*
port of the Commissioners of the State of
New-York, on the Canals from Lake Erie
to the Hudson River, and from Lake
Champlain to the Same . . . 17th Febru-
ary, 1817 p. 4 The dimensions of the west-
ern or Erie canal and locks, ought, in the
opinion of the commissioners, to be as fol-
lows. . . 1818 *Report of the Commis-*
sioners . . . January 31st, 1818 p. 19 It is
obvious, that no direct communication
of this kind can be carried on between
these two parts, unless the boats which
navigate the Erie Canal . . . can also
traverse the Champlain Canal. 1821 'Taci-
tus,' pseud. (i.e., De Witt Clinton), *The*
Canal Policy of the State of New-York:
Delineated in a Letter to Robert Troup,
Esquire p. 18 With respect to the Erie
canal, the subsequent development will
shew to whom we are principally indebted

for its commencement and prosecution.

+FREIGHT BOAT. (*DAE*, 1828.) 1825 Colden, *Memoir* p. 89-90 When the Canals are as much occupied by freight boats, as unquestionably they will be in a very short time, they must be abandoned by all travellers, except those of mere curiosity.

GRAND CANAL. The Erie Canal. (Not in *DAE*.) 1816 *A Serious Appeal* p. 3 Seven years have now elapsed since the consideration of the Grand Canal was first submitted to the Fathers of the commonwealth. 1818 [Haines,] *Considerations* p. 5 Like all great projects, embracing in their scope the prosperity and welfare of states and empires, the Grand Canal from the Hudson to the Lakes, has come in for a share of obloquy and reprehension.

+HARD PAN. (*DAE*, c 1817.) 1819 *Annual Report of the Canal Commissioners*, . . . Jan. 25, 1819 p. 14 There have been frequent spots of hard-pan, through most of which, however, the excavation is already completed. [The *DAE*'s earliest quotation is from Dwight's *Travels*, not published until 1821-1822.]

+INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT. (*DAE*, sense 1.b, 1827.) 1818 [Haines,] *Considerations* p. 68 These are some of the future advantages connected with this branch of our Internal Improvements. 1825 Colden, *Memoir* p. 39 Fortunately we have had no occasion to remind Ohio of this engagement, and every friend of internal improvements, must rejoice that no part of her resources have been diverted from the great work in which she is now so nobly engaged.

LOCK, *v.* To furnish or equip (a canal or stream) with a lock or locks. (*DAE*, sense 1, 1792, 1886.) 1816 *A Serious Appeal* p. 22 The first erroneous idea was that of locking the falls of Niagara, and those of Oswego.

+LOCK-TENDER. (*DAE*, 1848.) 1821 *Annual Report of the Canal Commissioners* . . . 12th March, 1821 p. 16 For erection of houses for collectors and lock-tenders, . . . [\$]1407 45.

PACKET BOAT. +2. A long, narrow boat or towboat of light draft designed especially for carrying passengers and mail on canals. (*DAE*, 1828.) 1822 [S. Goode-

now,] *A Brief Topographical and Statistical Manual of the State of New-York* (2d ed.) p. 19 The packet-boats are large and commodious, having every convenience to lodge and entertain from 25 to 45 or 50 passengers each. . . 1822 J. Randel, Jr., *Description of a Direct Route for the Erie Canal, at Its Eastern Termination* p. 62 The canal charges for passengers in packet boats is [sic] three cents per mile, exclusive of board. . .

PORTAGE. The cost or price of carriage. (Not in *DAE* in this sense, but see *OED*, s.v. *Portage*, 1.2.) 1812 'Atticus,' pseud. (i.e., Hugh Williamson), *Remarks on the Proposed Canal, from Lake Erie to the Hudson River* p. 5 Now the distance from Seneca Lake . . . by the proposed canal to the Hudson river would be about 200 miles, and the portage should be two dollars per ton, or ten cents for one hundred weight. 1814 [DeWitt Clinton,] *Remarks on the Importance of the Contemplated Grand Canal, between Lake Erie and the Hudson River* p. 18 When we consider the expenses above stated we can hardly suppose, that the portage of flour to New-Orleans, could be less than a dollar and a half; I think it costs much more.

+STEAM-GALLEY. A steamboat. (Not in *OED* or *DAE*.) 1825 Colden, *Memoir* p. 357 In the centre of the picture is the James Kent, steam-galley, . . . at the extremity of the right of the picture, is a steam-galley . . .; over the bow of the steam-galley is Fort Columbus saluting. [On p. 47 of the same book (in a part written by another author) the 'James Kent' is referred to as a steamboat.]

+TRANS-ALLEGHANY. (*DAE*, 1838.) 1825 Colden, *Memoir* p. 93 Why should the trans-Allegany States have remained united with those on the Atlantic, when the mountains rendered all profitable intercourse between them impracticable?

WATER POWER. (*DAE*, 1827.) 1822 *Annual Report of the Canal Commissioners*. . . , the 27th February, 1822 p. 31 The water power, which is formed by the canals, and which is often more than sufficient for navigable purposes, might be usefully employed for hydraulic establish-

ments, and also rendered productive of considerable revenue. 1825 Colden, *Memoir* p. 90 The privilege of using this water power, is leased, or sold, by the State, and so will materially augment the revenue from the Canals.

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EXIT 'QUEUE'

Mr. Mencken will be pleased to learn that another Briticism has bit the dust. During the war the Capital Transit Company instituted a plan to educate bus riders to line up to board buses. At congested stops they put up signs reading: 'Please form *queue* for boarding bus.' These signs lasted only a few months and then were replaced by ones reading: 'Please form *line*.'

PAUL R. BEATH
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WORDS MY MOTHER TAUGHT ME

It has been a personal satisfaction to jot down from time to time, as they came to mind, odds and ends of my mother's speech-ways,¹ since many of her words and expressions are otherwise foreign to my experience.² It has also been of continued interest to discover, if possible, the origin of certain unusual words heard in her everyday conversation. A few examples from her vocabulary may be recorded here, though it should be emphasized that they were used only in

strictly 'after-hour' conversation. The items selected fall into three different groups, as follows:

I. English dialect words. It is evident, in retrospect, that my mother drew many of her words from a well of English charged with dialect. This was but natural, since she was of English and Scotch ancestry. I have not heard the three following words anywhere in the Middle West or in the borderland of the southern states, and they seem to be unfamiliar to the many persons whom I have queried here and there.

CHANKINGS. When eating an apple or other fruit with rough or thick skin, my mother would say, 'Put your chankings in the stove.' The NED gives a dialectal use of a substantive, *champ*, as 'anything champed or reduced to a soft pulp or mass.' Wright actually gives a verb, *chank*, 'to chew or bite . . . hence (1) *chankings*.'

C-O-O-P! A call. Used when playing 'Hide-and-seek' in Massachusetts when I was a child. When a child was well hidden, she called in a long drawn-out cry, 'C-o-o-p!' This is never heard in the Middle West. It means 'Come up!' and is recorded by Wright and by Halliwell-Phillips.

TIPPING ('I saw you come tipping along!'). Possibly for 'tiptoeing,' but Wright gives a verb *tip*, also a subst., indicating various dialectal uses in England, Ireland, and Australia. Under (8) we find 'to *tip* the road, i.e. to *tramp* or *walk*.' Halliwell-Phillips gives the word as well.

1. Mrs. Pauline Kimball Partridge, b. in Vermont in 1838, d. in Iowa City in 1938. She attended the county schools in the Green Mountain State and later one of the academies popular in the mid-nineteenth century. Still later, she studied public speaking in schools of expression in Boston and Detroit. From 1890 to 1900 she was instructor in public speaking in the University of Iowa. Both in the classroom and on the platform, she was strict in language and expression. The words listed here are obviously remnants of early colloquial habits.

2. Mainly in Massachusetts, Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois.

II. Words with Changed or Intensified Meaning. Used by my mother's in-laws in the Bay State and also by her sisters, who were scattered from Massachusetts to Kansas. Of the numerous instances in which my mother heightened the meaning of a word, I cite the following:

GUMPTION (SPUNK). Implied reproach and all the meanings put together.

OVER AND ABOVE. A phrase expressing degree, as in the sentence, 'He's not over and above smart,' meaning, he was not smart at all, he was something of a dullard.

CLEVER. In contrast to the dialectal use 'satisfactory' or the colloquial meaning 'good-natured,' as given by Webster's *New International*, my mother's use of *clever* ('He's a clever fellow') carried the insinuation that the person referred to was 'touched,' or, as they say down here in 'Egypt,'² 'not quite right behind the ears.'

III. Original Words, Not Found in the Dictionaries.

NIFF. Not in DAE or in older dictionaries. To 'take a niff' at a person was to conceive a violent dislike for him. It is unlikely that this word was used as a variant of *miff*; the *n* was always clearly sounded.

SNI [snar]. Used when a failure was made in sewing, cooking, or in other activities demanding hand-skills. When a cake turned out wrong, the phrase 'I've lost my sni!' would be used. The word was adopted by relatives and acquaintances.

WORMY. Used as descriptive of a mental attitude rather than of a physical condition. Found in a letter to my mother from an in-law: 'I should think Maynard's wife would feel rather wormy, as Father used to say. . . .' The word is evi-

dently fairly old, since 'Father' was born in 1790.

GRACE PARTRIDGE SMITH
Carbondale, Illinois

AIR AGE TALK

The American airline industry has streamlined not only its planes, but also its language. On a recent trip by air I overheard the hostess say to a passenger: 'When you deplane at Newark check your *reso* before you *limo* to Manhattan.' Translation: 'When you get off the plane at Newark check your reservation before you take the limousine to Manhattan.'

PAUL R. BEATH
Washington, D.C.

'SKIBBY'

H. L. Mencken, in *Supplement One*, p. 607, mentions the word *skibby*, used to designate the Japanese on the Pacific Coast. It is, he says, extremely offensive to them, for it originally applied to a loose woman. No attempt is made at etymology in the 1934 edition of Webster's dictionary. Mr. Mencken suggests that *skibby* was borrowed from a Japanese word.

I was in Japan for a while after V-J day. The American soldiers there tried with scant success to learn the naughty words of the Japanese language. One which they pronounced *skippy* was soon floating around. Some said that it meant a prostitute. Others said that it meant other things. It is a rare Jap, contrary to the popular belief, who

3. A popular epithet for Southern Illinois.

knows enough English to be able to carry on a conversation, so enquiries were futile.

There are no words in Japanese which begin with *sk*, but *u* between *s* and *k* is silent. *Sukiyaki*, for instance, is pronounced *skiyaki*. Now, Kenkyusha's *New Japanese-English Dictionary* gives the word *sukebei* as meaning 'lechery; bawdiness; lewdness; prurience; a satyr; a bawdy person; a hot-stuff.' Observe the definition 'a hot-stuff.' Evidently Kenkyusha appreciates American slang. I looked over all the words beginning with *suk* but could find no other from which *skibby* could possibly have been derived.

HUGH MORRISON

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A FURTHER COMMENT ON 'SKIBBY'*

The etymology of *skibby* suggested by Mr. Morrison is quite plausible when one considers the similarity of pronunciation in the two words brought together. The sound represented by *e* in the Japanese word *sukebei* is fairly close to an accented English *i*. There is a pitch accent on the second syllable of this Japanese word, with the result that the third syllable is usually pronounced in 'allegro speech' in such a way that it may sound like an unaccented *i* to an English speaker. As your correspondent puts it, there is no other Japanese word which comes so close to *skibby* as *sukebei* does. So if *skibby* did come

from the Japanese, it seems very likely that it came from *sukebei*.

So far as the meaning of *sukebei* is concerned, the definition in Kenkyusha's dictionary seems to be adequate, and there is no noticeable departure in use either among Japanese immigrants in this country or among Japanese in Japan. I have checked on this point with several local Japanese as well as with some veterans who have come back from Japan. Some of these veterans who know Japanese did point out that *skippy*, for 'prostitute,' was in use among the U. S. soldiers in Japan, but not among the Japanese.

ICHIRO SHIRATO

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MORE AIR FORCE SLANG

Here are some additions to the list of slang words that appeared in *American Speech* for October, 1945, pp. 226-227. Most of these words were contributed by students of mine who were in the Army Air Force.

As a cursory examination will reveal, the majority of the terms listed here were used to describe the various types of planes used in the Army Air Force or to label some of the Air Force personnel. The ground officers usually were the object of ridicule, and some of the most picturesque phrases were reserved for them. Because of the jealousy between fliers of the vari-

* The Editors of *American Speech* asked Mr. Shirato for his opinion of Mr. Morrison's note on *skibby*. We are grateful to Mr. Shirato for permission to print his comments.

ous types of planes, there was actually a contest to see who could coin the most colorful expressions to describe the other groups.

ACE. A show-off.

AIREDALES. Used in the Navy Air Force to describe the men who service the planes of an aircraft carrier.

BIG FRIEND. A bomber. See *little friend*, below.

BOX-CAR. A four-engine bomber.

BUBBLE-CHASER. The bombardier on a bomber. In order to drop his bombs accurately, the bombardier has to watch the bubbles in his levelling instrument.

BUZZ BOY. A single-engine fighter pilot. This term is also used in the Navy Air Force to describe an Army fighter pilot.

DUAL SACK TIME. Sleeping with a woman. See *solo sack time*, below.

EGG BEATER. A twin-engine training plane, so termed because of the small size of the engines.

FLYING COFFIN. Used in the Air Corps to describe a B-24 Liberator bomber. Airborne troops called the gliders they used for their operations by this name because the gliders were extremely vulnerable to enemy artillery.

FLYING PROSTITUTE. A B-26 bomber, so called because it seemed to have no visible means of support. Most Air Corps personnel considered it a very dangerous plane.

GADGET. An Air Force cadet, an inconsequential person.

GIBSON GIRL. An emergency radio employed when an airplane is forced down at sea.

GLAMOR BOYS. Air Force fliers.

GRAVEL CRUNCHER. A desk officer in the Air Corps.

GROUND JOKER. Air Force personnel that has never flown.

GROUND-POUNDER. Non-flying personnel in the Air Force.

HOLLYWOOD GLIDER. The B-17 Flying Fortress, so named because it has appeared in numerous motion pictures.

HOT PILOT. An expert pilot.

HOT ROCK. A show-off pilot.

HOT SHOT CHARLIE. An egotist.

IN LIKE FLYNN. Everything is O.K. In other words, the pilot is having no more trouble than Errol Flynn has in his cinematic feats.

LITTLE FRIEND. A fighter plane. See *big friend*, above.

METER READER. The co-pilot.

MICKEY MAN. The radar operator on a B-17 bomber.

PEA-SHOOTER. A single-engine training plane.

PENCIL PUSHER. The navigator on a bomber.

PREGNANT DUCK. The B-24 Liberator bomber, probably so named because of its awkward appearance.

PURPLE HEART CORNER. Used to describe the position of those airplanes flying low as the last element in the formation. These planes were most susceptible to enemy attack.

PURPLE PICKLE. A flight officer's bar, which is purple in color, with rounded corners.

SLIP STICK ATHLETE. Navigator on a bomber. The navigator employs a computing device which in appearance resembles a slide rule.

SOLO SACK TIME. Sleeping alone.

THROTTLE JOCKEY. A pilot.

TOGGLE JOCKEY. A co-pilot.

VIBRATOR. A basic training plane.

ZEBRA. A cadet officer in the Air Force training plan; he is usually very conscious of his stripes.

EDWIN H. MILLER

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